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DEATH IN IRELAND
SEAN CRONIN

MADE IN DETROIT
THOMAS C. FOX

CONFLICT—WITH INTEREST
FRANK GETLEIN

THE HUMAN COST FACTOR
PETER STEINFELS

ALSO: THOMAS POWERS, COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR., AND AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON 'THE VIETNAMESE BABYLIFT'

CHILDREN'S BOOKS FOR THE BICENTENNIAL
ELIZABETH MINOT GRAVES

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NEWS & VIEWS

Torture Confirmed

An interesting footnote to Sean Cronin's article, elsewhere in this issue, about tensions in Ireland is supplied by the 14-volume report lately issued by the Council of Europe's Commission on Human Rights.

The report, which Britain sought to have withdrawn, found the British Government "guilty" of using torture in the interrogation of internees in Northern Ireland five years ago, but "not guilty" of discriminating unfairly against the Catholic minority in the application of internment.

Thus substantiated were charges originally made by the Government of the Irish Republic that British security forces in Northern Ireland violated Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights forbidding "torture and inhuman and degrading treatment."

The techniques involved hooding, subjection to continuous hissing noise, standing against a wall with legs spread apart for long periods, deprivation of sleep, and denial of an adequate diet.

The British Compton Report had argued that such techniques constituted "ill-treatment," not "torture."

In rejecting this rationale, the Commission of Human Rights revealed that the five techniques—as well as "interrogation-in-depth," which was lumped into the same category—were taught to members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary at a seminar conducted in Northern Ireland by the English Intelligence Center.

The report also revealed that the British Government instructed its witnesses at the Commission's hearings in Strasbourg, London and Norway not to reply to questions about interrgation-in-depth techniques, and that "certain politicians who had been responsible for the policy of internment" were informally invited to give evidence but had refused. The evidence of some security forces witnesses is described in another instance as "incredible."

Those responsible for introducing internment into Northern Ireland included Prime Minister Brian Faulkner of Northern Ireland, Prime Minister Edward Heath of Great Britain, and the British Home Secretary Reginald Maudling.

* * *

In this same context, officials of the Irish Program of the National Council of Churches are sponsoring a "Journey of Reconciliation" to Ireland, Nov. 28 to Dec. 5. Participants will go in the spirit of Selma, and bear witness for peace, justice and reconciliation at the final rally of 1976 in the Valley of the Boyne.

"It will not be a comfort-tour," said Jesuit Father David Bowman, director of the Council's Ireland Program. "We shall be taking some risk, of necessity. Our risk will be pitifully small, however, compared to that of the extraordinary 'ordinary people' who live in the conflict-situation every day."

Inquiries about the tour may be directed to Father Bowman at the National Council of Churches of Christ, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, 10027. The telephone number is 212-870-2812.

Women in Prison

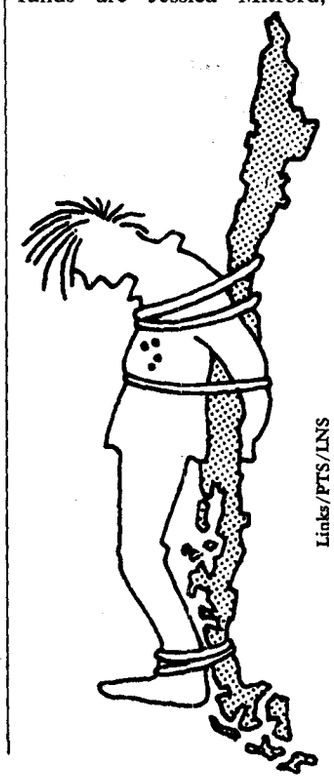
The federal reformatory for women in Alderson, West Virginia, is out in nowhere. The nearest town with adequate housing for visitors is 20 miles away, and since neither bus nor train stops in Alderson, travel to and from the town must often be made by taxi, a not inexpensive proposition. It is a situation, in sum, that heightens the isolation from family and friends for the 580-plus persons confined in this main federal facility for women.

Two individuals connected with the Zacchaeus Soup Kitchen in Washington—Richard Dieter and Margaret Louden—are seeking to do something about Alderson's lack of hotels, motels, or tourist homes, and thus end the phenomenon that "most women" at Alderson serve their entire sentence without a visit from the outside world.

Dieter and Louden plan to open a house of hospitality within walking distance of the prison. They have assurances from the owner of buying a large 18-room house, which house would become a supportive and informational center for relatives and friends calling at Alderson.

They also plan on purchasing a van, which would transport people who arrive by bus or train in a nearby town.

The project, including some repairs on the house, will run at least $25,000. Endorsing an appeal for funds are Jessica Mitford,



Links/PTS/LNS

the author, Sister Dorothy Donnelly of the National Coalition of American Nuns, Sister Margaret Ellen Traxler of the Institute of Women Today, and Jesuit Fathers Daniel Berrigan and Richard T. McSorley, among others.

Dieter and Louden view theirs as a new extension of concern for the plight of women in prison. Appropriately they make theirs the words of Dorothy Day in a recent *Catholic Worker*: "It is cruel and inhuman punishment not to make it more possible for prisoners to see their children or parents."

Contributions may be sent to the Alderson Hospitality House Project, c/o 1331 N St., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20005.

Odds and Ends

—The *Yorkshire Post*, one of Britain's most influential newspapers, is trumpeting for Pope the new Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Basil Hume. "It is certainly high time there was another English Pope," wrote Michael Brown, church correspondent, adding that it's been a long wait since 1159 and Hadrian IV.

—The *Times Literary Supplement*'s judgment on the Ehrlichman book, *The Company*: A failure, for not making fiction stranger than truth.

—Was it symptomatic of anything? I didn't see my first presidential bumper-sticker until Oct. 24 (Carter/Mondale). My second, until Oct. 26: ELECT NO ONE. A Maryland official seemed similarly amazed. "If you went by bumper stickers," he reflected a few days before the election, "SAVE THE WHALES would win 5-3."

—CBS commentator Bill Moyers' facetious bit of election-night wisdom on why there are more Democrats than Republicans in the U.S.: Republicans sleep in twin beds.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Poor Among Us

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: Your poem "The Poor Among You Always" which appeared in the September 24 issue of your magazine seems written by a person "beyond the Beltway," which inner city ones call the Poverty By-pass.

Your writer, Mr. Richard A. Hawley, seems to think that the poor call for "increasing dole by Caesar, King and Czar." Permit me to say that this is no solution.

Why? Because Caesar is still brutally conquering, as in Chile, the King is still repressing, as in Manila, and the Czar is still squandering as in the Pentagon.

The poor are here, I believe, to teach us our lesson that we must live modestly. Their pains are God's summons or invitation to us to share. Ill-gotten wealth and ill-used surplus really belong to others. In the poor God speaks to our minds shrilly, to our hearts lovingly.

(REV.) HORACE MCKENNA, S.J.

A Bewildering Sea

Wausau, Wis.

To the Editors: In his article "Second Thoughts on Sex" [Sept. 24] Peter Steinfels wrote that we have some guiding stars in the bewildering sea of sexual mores. Perhaps those stars will shine more brightly when it is more generally recognized that because of the level of mutual intimacy and mutual vulnerability possible in sexual intercourse, the feelings of trust, self-confidence, and self-worth can be nourished and replenished on a very fundamental level, provided they are already present in both partners to a sufficient degree to permit the necessary level of emotional vulnerability. However, without the security of a commitment to love combined with the reassurances of day to day loving actions, the individual's unconscious protective instincts

(Continued on page 765)

NEWS & VIEWS: 738 **CORRESPONDENCE:** 739
EDITORIAL: 739
WASHINGTON REPORT: Conflict—With Interest: *Frank Getlein* 740
THE HUMAN COST FACTOR: *Peter Steinfels* 742
DEATH IN IRELAND: *Sean Cronin* 743
MADE IN DETROIT: *Thomas C. Fox* 746
'THE VIETNAMESE BABYLIFT': An Exchange of Views: 749
PRESS: Neglected Stories: *Thomas Powers* 752
THE SCREEN: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.* 756
VERSE: *Peter Fellowes* 745
CHILDREN'S BOOKS FOR THE BICENTENNIAL: *Elizabeth Minot Graves* 758
A SELECTED LIST: *Elizabeth Minot Graves* 759
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THE NEW UNION

Now, as he shapes the direction of the first Democratic administration since the terrible year of 1968, chooses his staff and Cabinet, and thinks about his Inaugural Address, Jimmy Carter has time to do what he failed to do in the last weeks of his campaign: come into focus, make the basic, long-range inspiration of his character and presidency clear.

Carter was never really as "fuzzy" on the issues as his critics charged. In the debates, press conferences, position papers, and his extended interviews—indeed he may have been accessible to a fault—he has been as specific as any candidate on what to do about the economy, unemployment, possible Russian aggression, tax reform, the environment, arms limitation, the energy crisis, plus bound-to-offend-half-our-audience issues like busing, abortion, amnesty and gun control. He has exposed himself to a wary public and suspicious press for two years. His record as governor of Georgia, as well as every aspect of his public and personal life, survived the probings of columnists, novelists, psychohistorians and investigative reporters. By now we should know pretty well what we've got.

But in the last weeks of the campaign it was hard to tell. He dissipated his energies, spread himself thin zooming around from city to city scampering to catch a few minutes of TV evening news time in every part of the country. After the second debate what one aide described as Carter's "mild instinct for the jugular" took over—partly in response to the report that Republicans were floating a sex-smear story to capitalize on his *Playboy* mistake. The real man was lost. The image of Jimmy the compassionate Christian blurred. Here was just another scrappy politician making his pitch not to all the American people—with whom he had claimed an intimate relationship—but to the middle-class, semi-affluent voting electorate, telling them some of what his polls said they wanted to hear.

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But we can remember worse campaigns. The voter turnout was better than expected. We rejoice that Jimmy Carter won. He is not perfect. Nor is he Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson or Franklin D. Roosevelt. They weren't perfect either. Nor is he Jerry Ford. He is just himself; and he can be as good as or better than all his predecessors who sometimes had close elections of their own.

The two issues crying for immediate attention are jobs and race. The Carter staff-Congressional proposal to create jobs immediately without a rush of new expensive programs but by revving up existing programs makes temporary sense, and is an example of how good management can make government both efficient and responsive to human needs. In the long run, however, new jobs and a realignment of the economy should come from shifting money from defense spending, which artificially inflates the economy and serves no long-range social purpose, to rebuilding the economies of the big cities and a national urban and inter-urban public transportation network.

To a great degree Carter owes his election to black voters. The most exhilarating prospect of his presidency is that by his attack on unemployment among urban youth, his federal appointments, and his moral leadership he will bring black people both economically and socially into the center of American life. But now, as the first step, he should either succeed in integrating his Plains Baptist Church (an encounter he has postponed too long) or quit the congregation. He should tell his fellow deacons they cannot have the President of the United States as a member and keep black members out.

Eventually the moral focus of the Carter presidency will form as he "democratizes," in the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian sense, the office—maybe he will walk to his inauguration; as he appoints, as he has promised, an exceptionally high proportion of minorities to high government posts; if he surprises his critics and surrounds himself with advisors who are neither yes men, nor Kennedy-Johnson retreads, nor "people you never heard of," but the best new faces available who are committed to the Democratic platform's humanitarian goals.

But, above all, as the President who ends the Bicentennial year, Carter's Inaugural Address will have to project what his campaign lacked—a new vision, a "new spirit" for the American people. Perhaps as the first post-Civil War President from the deep South he is the man to call the country to a New Union. As governor he told his state of Georgia that racial segregation was over. Now he can tell his nation that the time of class, economic and social segregation must end as well.

WASHINGTON REPORT

CONFLICT—WITH INTEREST

It is possible, even reasonable, to have reservations about the net effect of some of the activities of Common Cause, the "citizens' lobby" trying to make honesty and constitutionality as attractive to members of Congress as are the interests of "the interests." The campaign financing reforms, for example, so ardently pushed by Common Cause ended up giving the Democratic and Republican parties an officially established status neither has in the Constitution, in our actual political history or in any really desirable political theory. Whatever is, Is, . . . forever, is precisely the principle this Republic was founded to elude, and is also the inevitable result of the reforms. Something has to be done about it, but the people charged with the responsibility of so doing are, of course, the people who benefit from it, the Establishmentarians, now supported and encouraged by the one institution, Common Cause, that ought to be their leading critic.

Well, everybody makes mistakes and if we knew the outcome of our best-intentioned efforts, no doubt no one would do anything, a prospect, in politics, not necessarily all that alarming. At any rate, Common Cause has now done something extraordinarily good and deserves not merely praise for the effort but serious thought by citizens on the subject. The organization has just issued "SERVING TWO MASTERS: A Common Cause Study of Conflicts of Interest in the Executive Branch."

Conflicts of interest are as old as the Republic. Indeed, most of the earlier political systems to which the Republic offered an alternative, were based, in practice, on conflict of interest raised to a principle of government: the sovereign lord was the bishop or the bishop's brother, the chancellor of the exchequer the capital's leading banker, the commander of the military forces the supplier of military matériel, and so on through all the variations needed to staff an administration. One of our legendary heroes, Alexander Hamilton, credited with creating the country's credit, did so brilliantly through classical conflict of interest, defrauding the poor, enriching the rich and turning more than the odd penny himself in the transaction.

The example of Hamilton, although rarely referred to, provides the essential justification for conflict of interest as permitted in government. When "Engine Charlie" Wilson instructed Congress that what's good

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for General Motors is good for the country, it wasn't the slip of the tongue his handlers immediately called it, and he wasn't kidding. And this, the Common Cause report powerfully suggests, is the real problem with conflict of interest as an operating principle of government.

The Pentagon, hardly surprisingly, sets the record in the report, with no fewer than 1406 officers and civil employees departing Defense between 1969 and 1973 to take jobs with defense contractors. The standard practice seems to be that you leave industry as a vice president, sign on as a deputy or undersecretary in procurement or in that gold mine, research and development, for a tour, then return to contracting as a president, or in a larger firm. A variation would be that of an officer or civilian employee who sees a procurement need, or at least a procurement item that could be made to seem a need were it available.. He resigns, sets up a company to produce the item and brings around samples to his good old buddies still in the buying end of the business. They do buy, in part, it is not unreasonable to speculate, because they anticipate their own retirement or even an earlier departure and are not averse to having established connections with the defense industry.

As noted earlier in this report, the Pentagon actually defends these and similar practices on the grounds that only the people making the military widgets know enough about them to order them intelligently, to draw up proper specifications and figure costs with at least some relationship to reality, however distant.

The obvious trouble with this is the endless possibilities it provides for ripping off the government. The Pentagon itself takes a firm marshmallow line with procurement officers caught out by the muckraking press accepting free duck hunts from the people they buy from, but that sort of payoff is so little as to be laughable. The real rip-offs are not confined to kickbacks in a duck blind on Chesapeake Bay. One would have to be Pollyanna Pangloss not to believe that the unvarying march of cost overruns on military equipment and the unvarying record of really astonishingly bad performance in operation, are not intimately connected with the circumstances of defense procurement, the buddy system between the buyer and seller who, in mercantile theory, are supposed to be friendly enemies, not friendly friends.

But all of that is on the surface, not without its comic aspects, comparable to the looting practiced from time immemorial by big city political machines—with the single difference, of course, that the highways and subways erected by the friends of the pols usually did do what they were supposed to do. The far worse harm we receive from conflict of interest as an operating principle of government is different and deeper.

Go back to Engine Charlie's remarkable revelation. He really believed that what was good for General Motors was good for the country. That is not necessarily as outrageous an idea as it appears when stated by a GM officer about to become a high government official. In a sense and up to a point, Calvin Coolidge was correct when he said that the business of America is business. That was also true of Florence when that city was creating the Renaissance (and if you're interested in conflict of interest, try reading the history of the Medici sometime). And it has been and remains true of Sweden while that nation was constructing the most elaborate system of social amelioration in the modern world. The money for Michelangelo and for Medicare has to come from somewhere. In the economics of the Western world, that somewhere has been business, in the eighteenth century a fairly straight, free-enterprise capitalism, today increasingly a state capitalism. That change and its implications for the future are what make the buddy system of procurement and the conflict of interest system of government regulation not only intolerable in themselves but highly dangerous.

The Common Cause report concentrates not on Defense, as I do here out of ancient affection, but on the various agencies dealing with energy. It finds that more than half of the top employees of the Energy Research and Development Administration used to work for private enterprises in the energy field, and 75 percent of these . . . came from ERDA contractors. Similarly, 72 percent of top employees of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission have been employed by private energy enterprises and 90 percent of these came from enterprises holding NRC licenses or contracts. Furthermore, 65 percent of NRC's consultants are working both for NRC and private enterprises that are recipients of such licenses and contracts. Again, you have to be simple-minded to believe that all this goes on without a good deal of impropriety to say the least, and some felony to say the most.

But again, the improprieties and perhaps felonies are not the worst. The worst is that, like Engine Charlie and General Motors, all these officials and consultants cannot imagine a system or a significant part of a system working in their field of administration or consultancy that does not center on their once and future employers or their clients. And imagination capable of such a leap is exactly what is required in the new circumstances we are encountering in energy, defense and numerous other fields. These people are intellectually all in the position of Herman Kahn, for whom the one really unthinkable—and unspeakable—thought was the country's spending less for weapons and for Herman Kahn to think about weapons.

You can get the report from Common Cause, 2030 M St., N.W., here, 20036. Read it and weep.

FRANK GETLEIN

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THE HUMAN COST FACTOR

PETER STEINFELS

ON THE Saturday before Election Day the Joint Economic Committee released a study suggesting, as the *New York Times* put it, "that a substantial number of the deaths, suicides, and murders from 1970 to 1975 were traceable to an increase of 1.4 percentage points in unemployment in 1970."

The politically sophisticated smiled and passed on.

Those with a little more than merely political sophistication may have paused. No doubt the Committee's timing was politically calculated. But the study's author, Dr. Harvey Brenner of Johns Hopkins, has been producing noteworthy findings on the relationship between unemployment and numerous physical and mental impairments for many years. This study, like his others, used highly refined techniques to show what percentage of heart attacks, mental hospital admissions, imprisonments, homicides, suicides, and so on could be strictly correlated with the drop in employment rather than other economic or non-economic factors. Translating these findings into dollars, as we are always wont to do, the Committee estimated that the cost of this lost income, hospitalization, and institutionalization was a $21 billion loss to American society. The human suffering involved can finally be measured only by those powers of sympathy that one hopes are not yet totally atrophied in the audience the Committee was addressing.

Dr. Brenner's study, extrapolated by the Committee, measures the links between health, mortality and crime and an increase in unemployment from 3.5 to 4.9 percent. In fact, the unemployment rate has gone from 3.5 to 7.8 percent since 1970, once almost reaching 9 percent. The jobless rates in our inner cities are much higher; those for black teenagers may be over 50 percent. In 1965, Daniel Moynihan wrote, "The fundamental, overwhelming fact is that *Negro unemployment*, with the exception of a few years . . . *has continued at disaster levels for 35 years*" (his emphasis). The situation, today, is worse.

Brenner's findings, then, are only the tip of the iceberg. The terrible effect of unemployment on family stability has been studied since the 1940s. The importance of work in providing a sense of place in the world is a commonplace of social science—and, more important, of the ordinary citizen's understanding of things. The economic crises of regions like the Northeast or Appalachia or the Northern cities are tied to losses in jobs. Unemployment means less tax revenue, on the one hand, and more tax expenditures for unemployment compensation, welfare, and Medicaid, on the other—$16 billion lost to the federal government for each percentage point of unemployment. No matter which of our domestic problems we turn to, racial equality, violent crime, declining cities, welfare reform, higher taxes, there looms the issue of employment.

So the Joint Economic Committee might well have issued its study the day after elections. Full employment ought to be the first issue on the national agenda no matter what the presidential administration.

And yet economists are telling the nation it must live with 6 to 7 percent unemployment for the rest of the decade. Even while liberal politicians, as in the Democratic primaries, appear to rally round full employment, the liberal economists who advise them are quietly backing away. If full employment is to stand half a chance in the political arena, its advocates will have to address themselves to these issues:

Unemployment and inflation. Twentieth-century economics, no less than its nineteenth-century predecessor, has its "iron laws." For Keynesians one of these turns on the "Phillips curve," depicting an unavoidable trade-off between unemployment and inflation. You can't have less of one without more of the other. For a long time, the way out of this dilemma was to insist that inflation wasn't as bad as the business leaders of this world insisted. For various reasons, some economic, some political, that will no longer wash. "Every time we push the rate of unemployment toward acceptably low levels, by whatever means, we set off a new inflation. And, in turn, both the political and economic consequences of inflation make it impossible to achieve full employment or, once having achieved it, to keep it there." The speaker is Charles L. Schultze of the Brookings Institution, Official Liberal Economist *par excellence*.

The problem is not unemployment but the unemployed. An old argument which does not go away. The obstacles to full employment, and especially employment among minority groups, cannot be overcome by generating jobs. The obstacles are within the potential employees—lack of skills, discipline, motivation, and so on. In his book, *Affirmative Discrimination*, Nathan Glazer points to studies attributing high black unemployment rates neither to discrimination nor job shortage but to "poor endowment—education and family background." And since we have grown skeptical about our capacity to affect skill, motivation and the rest, the only sound alternative is resignation—let nature take her course, it would have been said a century ago.

The battle of the statistics. It has long been argued that official unemployment statistics actually under-represent the scope of the problem. They do not include those who have dropped out of the job market altogether

(Continued on page 767)

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DEATH IN IRELAND

SEAN CRONIN

Religious labels oversimplify the situation

Seven years ago the British Home Secretary James Callaghan responded to an official request from the Northern Ireland government for troops to restore order in the City of Derry with a two-word reply: "Permission granted." More than 1,600 deaths later, Callaghan is Prime Minister and his troops are still trying to restore order, not merely in Derry, but in all Northern Ireland. The chances are that they will not succeed.

Northern Ireland may be out of control and the Republic of Ireland could follow suit. President Cearbhall O Dalaigh has resigned because of special legislation passed by the Irish Parliament making it easier to jail IRA suspects and supporters and imposing heavier sentences. The President is a figurehead chief of state but as a former Chief Justice and Attorney General, he submitted the bill without comment to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled, rather reluctantly, that the bill is constitutional, and then a member of Liam Cosgrave's government attacked the President for his action. The result is a full-blown constitutional crisis to add to the State's other problems.

Despite the emergence of a women's peace movement that began in Belfast in a Catholic ghetto and that has been holding marches in different Irish cities with thousands of participants, it is difficult to see peace returning to Northern Ireland soon. "For what is war, but that same time in which the will of contesting by force is fully declared, either by words or deeds?" asked Thomas Hobbes. "The time remaining is termed peace."

In Ireland the time remaining is termed a truce.

Economically both parts of Ireland are in trouble. Britain says it is willing to shore up Northern Ireland indefinitely. (Who will shore up Britain?) The European Economic Community may do the same for the Republic. On the other hand there may come a time when both Brussels and London will grow tired of the burden of Ireland and its insoluble problems: national, religious, social and economic.

The one that gets attention now is the religious problem: the fact that Northern Ireland has one million Protestants and a half million Catholics and the Protestants want to be part of the United Kingdom and the Catholics want to be part of Ireland. What's to be done about that?

From the summer of 1921 until March 1972 Northern Ireland had its own Protestant government which controlled the region through the agency of the Unionist Party. Prime Minister Edward Heath abolished it as a sop to the Catholics.

This government came into being as the result of a threat of rebellion when the British Parliament was discussing Home Rule for Ireland back before the first world war. The Tories of England organized the Protestants of Ulster, gave them financial, military and political help against the Liberal government of H.H. Asquith. Both parts of Ireland erupted in violence and the British solution was to partition the country.

With its own government in Belfast, and its own militia and special laws to terrorize and cripple the opposition, the Unionists had no real problem with the one-third of the population that felt betrayed and indeed sold by this British solution to the Irish question. Then in the mid-1960s the young Catholics of the ghettos, who had received the benefit of a full education on the British model, began to organize civil rights marches.

SEAN CRONIN, *New York correspondent for the* Irish Times, *recently returned from Ireland.*

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These were countered by a political clergyman, Ian Paisley, who built up a strong Protestant following on the strength of his demagoguery. By 1969, when British troops intervened, the two communities were polarized. A British Royal Commission of Inquiry found that Paisley bore "a heavy share of direct responsibility" for the disorders in Northern Ireland. The same commission found that the IRA, an underground revolutionary organization going back to the post-Easter 1916 independence struggle, had engaged as individual members in the civil rights marches, mainly as stewards: ". . . they were efficient and exercised a high degree of discipline on marchers or demonstrators," the Camden Commission noted.

All of that is academic now. Shortly after British troops took over in Derry and Belfast, the IRA split on strategy and tactics into an Official wing, which emphasized social goals, and a Provisional wing, which stressed the "national struggle." The Provos have a strong base in the Catholic ghettos of Belfast, Derry and other urban centers of the North. In South Armagh, a wild and hilly area that is strongly nationalist—which in the context of Northern Ireland means Catholic—they seem to be in full control and probably have detached it permanently from the United Kingdom. A British paratroop regiment has just pulled out to be succeeded by a regiment of Royal Marines. Britain's elite counter-insurgency force, SAS, has devoted its full attention to South Armagh, with little success.

Looking back over its seven years of direct involvement in Northern Ireland's problems, the British government can hardly be confident about the future. The violence of the early 1970s shows no signs of abating. The Provisionals are well armed and determined; they seem sure that they have the resources and the support to maintain their level of "urban guerrilla warfare" (or "terrorism," depending on your point of view) indefinitely. Their chief demand is that the British government declare its intention of withdrawing from Ireland. The Protestant armed groups, for their part, are equally determined, and perhaps as well armed as the Provisional IRA. They want their own local government restored and the link with the United Kingdom maintained. Both British political parties are committed to "power sharing," as between the Protestant and Catholic communities, as the only solution to the Northern Ireland problem, within the United Kingdom—with a united Ireland seen in the distant future if both groups desire it. A short-lived attempt to put power-sharing into practice collapsed after a general strike (or lockout, depending on your point of view) in May of 1974.

The power-sharing agreement was signed at Sunningdale in England by the Dublin government, the London government and the leaders of the two community parties —the Unionists and the Social Democratic and Labor Party—in Northern Ireland. Of these, Edward Heath is of course no longer in power; Brian Faulkner, the Unionist leader and first and only Chief Executive of the power-sharing Belfast government, retired from politics the other day, while his deputy in that government, Gerry Fitt, the leader of the SDLP, had to use a revolver in his home recently after it was taken over by a mob and the British army was in no hurry to save him.

No-Win Situation

Some British officers have made it clear that they consider their government's handling of the Northern Irish situation inept. It is possible that London may face a revolt of its officer corps on the lines of the Secret Army operations in Algeria if the present inconclusive business continues. (One must stress the word "possible" here.) The Dublin government, whatever its protestations, does not want a united Ireland; it has enough trouble handling its present problems. The Catholic Church does not want one million Protestants thrown into the mix, either. Nor, for that matter, does even a substantial section of the Protestant community want to join the Republic. For everyone, Northern Ireland seems to be a no-win situation.

Much of the violence is caused by the British army, but because its role is seen as that of "peacemaker" it has been able to get away with it. The tragedy of Northern Ireland is harrowing, but it does not make it the less so by covering up responsibility. Two recent stories, carried on television here, told of three children being killed "by a car hijacked by the Provisional IRA." The car crushed the children when it crashed, out of control, after its driver was shot dead by a British army patrol. In South Armagh a 12-year-old girl, killed by British troops lying in ambush in a cemetery, was said to have died in "cross fire" with Provisional IRA gunmen. The Provos took the blame and dishonor of the four deaths; the British were exonerated.

Britain has won the propaganda war because of the religious sectarian aspect of the conflict, which is seen as a throwback to the wars of the Reformation. This is too simple an interpretation. As the Provisional *Republican News* of Belfast says: "Substitution of religious labels for political terms over-simplifies the situation and favors British interpretations."

The attack on Brookeborough Royal Ulster Constabulary barracks on New Year's Day 1957 by an IRA column is an almost legendary event. Two IRA volunteers died in the attack, Seán South and Fergal O'Hanlon, and songs were written about them and are still sung here as well as in Ireland. The attack was led by Sean Garland, a raw-boned, red-headed man who was badly wounded in the affray. His second-in-command was David O'Connell, a tall, serious-minded Corkman, who was badly wounded in a later engagement with the Ulster Constabulary. Both men spent long terms of

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imprisonment in Belfast. Today, Garland is the chief spokesman of the Official IRA, which is usually described as Marxist; and O'Connell is—or was up to his recent arrest by the Dublin government—the chief spokesman of the Provisional IRA. They are completely at odds on the North of Ireland.

Garland told me that the Official IRA is totally opposed to what he calls "the bombing campaign" of the Provisionals because the end result of it is that the Protestant people see it as being directed against them. In consequence, it intensifies the sectarian bitterness of the North. This Provisional campaign, he believes, will widen the divide between Protestant and Catholic workers in Northern Ireland. He sees a solution only in a united working-class movement working for a Socialist Ireland. In the meantime, he wants to see a Bill of Rights established in the North and the British army withdrawn from the streets. He believes peace between the two communities could be built through the trade union movement.

David O'Connell wants to see what he calls "a New Ireland" emerging from the present strife. First, the British must agree to a withdrawal: the time factor is a matter for negotiation. This "New Ireland" would be a federal republic with four provincial governments; thus Ulster's Protestants would rule themselves, in effect, but without the link to the British crown. The purpose of the present guerrilla campaign, he told me, is to force Britain to recognize the right of the Irish people to decide their own future.

What O'Connell sees as a struggle for national independence, Protestant Ulster sees as a campaign to bring them under Catholic control—something they will never accept, a leading member of the Ulster Defense Association, who wants to be nameless, told me. Some leaders of the Protestant para-military organizations have met with leaders of both wings of the IRA and have found common ground. Later they were assassinated by their own followers. The names include Tommy Herron, Sammy Smythe, Jim Hanna—all Belfast working men, and all socialists by their own definition.

I asked O'Connell about the charges of sectarianism made against the Provisionals, which come not only from the Unionists, but also from the Catholic SDLP and the Official IRA, as well as the Dublin government.

"We do not want sectarianism or any part of it," O'Connell said. "But how do we deal with the killing of Catholics, just because they are Catholics, in Belfast, for example? We do it by trying to kill the killers. What other answer is there?" Killing the killers, however, hardly seems to be an adequate description of what is taking place in Ulster.

In Ireland there are only questions, no answers. The British ambassador to Dublin was ambushed and killed on a lonely stretch of road outside the city. The government blamed the Provisionals and the new special repressive legislation is a direct result of the killing. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Barrett FitzGerald, said Ireland was ashamed of this foul deed. Traveling in the ambassador's car and badly wounded in the attack, which also killed a young secretary, was the chief British civil servant for Northern Ireland. Why was he with the ambassador to a neighboring state?

Maire Comerford, a woman veteran of the War of Independence and a great jail fighter in her day, is convinced that the ambassador was the victim of a British plot. Far-fetched? Of course it is, but it indicates the extent of paranoia among otherwise rational people in Ireland. (The Irish police are satisfied that the ambassador was assassinated by the Provisionals and the latter have indicated that they killed him because he was coordinating British intelligence activities in Ireland.)

The situation in Northern Ireland is much worse now than it was seven years ago. It is not going to improve. "The attempted remedies have all been in vain," the British historian A.J.P. Taylor says. "The Convention has been and gone. Power-sharing has been aired to no avail. What exactly do we hope to achieve in Northern Ireland?" His solution is: "troops out now." There is no Irish solution, but they may find one if the British leave. If they do not, Ireland's future will be more terrible than its past.

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PETER FELLOWES

Seeing in the Dark

Look with his ears
which way, his head cocked
to ward off a cry
and careering through dark
he furrows the racket
about him, old mole
with a sharp tooth for silence.

Testing the air lightly
for it, his cane walks
him into it. Only
that draws the fear quite
from him, the sweat
a fist gives tightly
closing on nothing.

But what little sense
things make, bumping high
and higher, is it nonsense
listening to his ear ring
or blindness in the vestibule
confessing each turn
a mansion of apartments.

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MADE IN DETROIT

THOMAS C. FOX

Catholic conference on liberty and justice for all

An unprecedented assembly of American Catholics, meeting in Detroit, has asked the American bishops to resist U.S. arms policies, support the ordination of women and married men, allow priests to marry and invite divorced and remarried Catholics back into the church.

The gathering of a broad spectrum of Catholics from across the nation marked a new assertiveness among lay Catholics in attempting to form church policies. It also highlighted a growing tension among American Catholics who, while raised to respect the nation's democratic ideals, are within a church which limits decision-making.

The Oct. 21-23rd conference, a Bicentennial observation of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, whose Bicentennial theme is "liberty and justice for all," examined injustices in the church and society and drew up recommendations to right wrongs.

The "Call to Action" conference was the final stage in a two-year consultation process in which an estimated half-million Catholics participated under the direction of the bishops. Recommendations from the conference will be considered by the bishops to be translated into five-year action programs when they meet in Chicago in May, 1977.

In all, conference delegates—priests, nuns, laypersons, bishops—formally approved 26 recommendations included in eight documents entitled Church, Work, Personhood, Family, Neighborhood, Ethnicity and Race, Nationhood and Humankind. However, within the recommendations delegates made suggestions for several hundred specific actions which they want the American bishops to take to work toward ending injustices. Many recommendations called upon the bishops to form national and diocesan committees or initiate studies; some called for meetings with Pope Paul with the intention of ending certain church traditions.

The conference agenda was two years in preparation, representing, in the words of the bishops' Bicentennial committee, headed by Cardinal John Dearden of Detroit, "the largest program of grass roots participation in the history of the church in this nation." Roughly half the dioceses in America participated in the preparation. Parishes were asked to discuss justice—or the lack of it—and report topics and actions they wished to have presented at the conference. Six regional hearings were held. Testimony taken. Victims of injustice raised their voices. More than 20 dioceses held their own hearings. According to conference organizers, over 800,000 suggestions for discussion topics and actions grew from these meetings. The greatest number of respondents, according to program research director Sister Alice Gallin, suggested that barriers to true community exist within parishes and that to end them, women should be free to do all ministries in the church. Writing committees, chaired by bishops, gathered suggestions, summarized them into eight working papers in which recommendations were included. These papers served as initial discussion papers for the conference.

Most conference delegates were chosen by their bishops, often according to guidelines set down by the Bicentennial committee which called for delegations to be a third each of parishioners, diocesan administrators and persons who have suffered the prejudices of American society due to race, ethnic background, or age.

Upon arriving and checking into hotels, many delegates joined previously arranged caucuses. Signs directing delegates to caucuses were set up in hotel lobbies and at conference headquarters at Cobo Hall. Women's ordination, peace and justice, black and Hispantic caucuses each met late into the night on the eve of the conference to discuss strategies. In most instances delegates during the caucuses agreed to write amendments to the working papers in order to strengthen them. Many delegates expected to receive opposition to the amendments. But when delegates from the caucuses joined section discussions with written alternatives in hand, they found it unnecessary to take a militant posture. Where opposition was expected, the delegates found a willingness to listen and for the amendments to be received.

Some 94 national Catholic organizations sent representatives as delegates. Ten had earlier been rejected, allegedly due to lack of proper credentials. But after a fight in the credentials committee the ten disputed representatives were allowed to be seated. In addition there were 1,000 observers, most of whom participated in discussions, but not in the voting process.

Included in the delegations were 110 of the nation's

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300 bishops. They participated in section discussions, but many refused to vote, saying they would later have to act on the recommendations as bishops. Their refusals, however, were interpreted by some delegates as an effort to wash their hands of the conference. For as the conference developed, it became increasingly clear that recommendations would call for radical change in the church. On each day and during every level of discussion, the recommendations grew longer and stronger. Wording, while polite, was not compromised. What began two years ago as an effort to find out what troubled Catholics and what they wanted church leaders to do in areas of social justice had, by the time the conference ended, snowballed. The conference became a national forum for priests, sisters and laypersons to call for radical change, taking the bishops' call and church teachings as the grounds for that change.

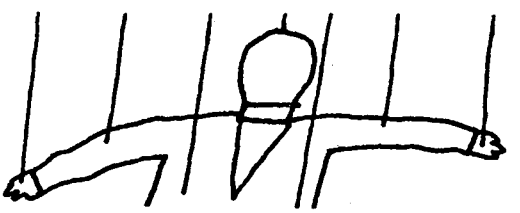
Clearly, the three-day gathering picked up a momentum of its own. Delegates shed initial hesitations, grew in confidence, expressed surprise at learning other delegates from other parts of the nation harbored similar thoughts and feelings—that radical change within the church is required. A sense emerged among a clear majority that justice cannot be compromised, cannot be denied any person—if the church is to be faithful to its teachings, if the church is to be credible. The "Church" document, delegates indicated in casual conversations over coffee, was clearly one of the most essential and controversial of the conference. It addressed injustices within the church, specifically the denial of women to priestly ministries, the lack of financial accountability of church leaders, and discrimination in church leadership representation, for example of Hispanic Americans. A feeling emerged that for the church to address injustices in the world, it must first begin by attending to church matters, by providing proper pastoral care for divorcees, homosexuals, or laicized priests.

In keeping with such a spirit, delegates listened attentively to minority spokespersons such as Brian McNaught, of Dignity, when he told delegates the word "gay" did not offend homosexuals. An American Indian told delegates to speak of faith in a "spiritual" context and not simply one limited to church dogma when examining the section on native Americans. A Latin-speaking American talked of immigration problems faced by Mexican-Americans. In every instance, delegates deferred to minority groups when dealing with issues involving them. Demands for action grew in number and strength.

This upset many of the more conservative Catholics, especially on issues involving theology. One delegate, in a working section, argued that "Catholics in the pews back home" will not understand and will be offended by the conference's recommendations. Conservatives further argued that the delegates did not adequately represent the views of most American Catholics. Just how representative the conference was became one of the most talked about questions during the gathering.

Following a vote in a preliminary section meeting, one favoring the ordination of women, Cardinal John Krol of Philadelphia charged that "rebels" had taken over. He said the conference was "being manipulated by a few people" who received the support "of a naive group of little ladies." But, added the cardinal, "They won't make it. This is not a legislative body." Speaking at a press conference, Cardinal Dearden expressed doubts about the feasibility of the womens' ordination recommendation. "I for one have very definite theological doubts about the possibility," he said. "But I think until those doubts are solved, obviously, I could not as a person be a party to any recommendation that would say I feel this should be done."

Reservations among many bishops, which grew as the conference progressed, solidified three days after the conference's completion when Archbishop Joseph Bernardin, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, said, "too much was attempted" and



that "special interest groups advocating particular causes seemed to play a disproportionate role" and "dominated the conference." His statement seemed aimed at nipping the expectations of conference participants. His remarks advocating that the recommendations be taken very cautiously failed to note that each recommendation in final voting received the overwhelming support of delegates. Specifically, a recommendation including the request for women priests won the support of an estimated 95 percent of the delegates. His remarks were an about-face from comments he made on Oct. 15, six days before the conference opened, when he said the 1,340 delegates had emerged from a broad consultative process.

Archbishop Bernardin is correct in suggesting that too much was attempted during the three-day conference. Delegates were forced to proceed quickly during deliberations, but there is no evidence that prolonging them would have substantially changed the outcome of the conference. In most cases, except for the stronger use of language, the final recommendations were outgrowths of recommendations that delegates had received prior to coming to Detroit. The agenda was drawn up by Catholics working over the past two years. The bishops, conference organizers, and delegates knew in advance what they were to consider and had adequate time prior to the conference to reflect on the agenda.

The Detroit conference probably did not represent

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the full spectrum of American Catholics; it did, however, seem to represent those Catholics most active in the church in America, those priests, sisters and laypersons who seriously took the call of the bishops to speak up and address social ills in and outside the church. One delegate referred to the assembly as a gathering of "middle management." It was more than that, as the presence of blacks, Hispanics and Catholics of Eastern European background clearly indicated.

Theologian Avery Dulles, while generally praising the conference, said it would result in "more tension" in the American church.

"The bishops," Dulles said, "are faced with a critical dilemma. They can move in the direction of the demands and alienate conservative Catholics or they can disregard them and disillusion those who've put their energies into the assembly." He apparently did not understate his case. Before leaving Detroit, one delegate said that if the bishops ignore the conference's most critical recommendations, the result will be "catastrophic." He said increased "cynicism" would settle among those Catholics who take church participation most seriously.

Perhaps, part of the problem stems from the way the conference was advertised. "We said we were going to set an agenda for the next five years," Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit declared. "It's always been part of the fine print that the conference would only be making recommendations." Gumbleton said he personally does not think the bishops will approve some of the conference's most important recommendations, but added that the gathering has already been a success. He said that "just gathering 1,300 people together to say 'stop the arms race'" is a major achievement. "It [the disarmament statement] is out there in the public domain and whether the bishops endorse it or not may not be as important" as its being there.

Clearly, the hands of liberal bishops in America, such as Gumbleton, have been strengthened by the conference. They can now speak to the bishops in their meetings, arguing for strong anti-arms, anti-military statements, for example, with the weight of the American Catholic community behind them.

The disarmament statement passed by the assembly is based on Vatican statements, most recently one to the United Nations in April, 1976. The recommendation asks that "the U.S. Catholic community condemn, and be among those who lead in resisting the production, possession and proliferation and threatened use of nuclear weapons." It also calls for the arms race "to be universally reversed, paving way for initiatives for disarmament leading to general and complete disarmament." It also asks that the "sales or transfers of arms overseas be halted." It further calls for amnesty for Vietnam war resisters.

The document on church calls upon the bishops "to initiate dialogue with Rome . . . to allow women to be ordained priests and deacons." It calls for the bishops to study changing "the present discipline" to allow priests to marry. It also asks that laicized priests be "fully accepted" as lay Catholics within the church. It further calls upon the bishops to petition the Pope to allow married men to be ordained. Finally, it requests church authorities "at all levels" to hold themselves financially accountable.

The document entitled Personhood asks that the church in America acknowledge that it is living "in a state of conflict and anguish arising from tension between the common understanding of church teaching on contraception and the current practice of many Catholics." It asks the bishops to use their pastoral leadership "to affirm more clearly the right and responsibility of married people to form their own consciences" on birth control matters.

The document also asks the bishops to "serve the pastoral needs of those persons with a homosexual orientation" and "to root out those structures and attitudes which discriminate against homosexuals." The document further calls for a "Catholic Bill of Rights" affirming human rights, including the right to freedom of conscience, speech and assembly.

The document on Family requests the bishops to repeal the penalty of automatic excommunication decreed by the Third Council of Baltimore. The effect of such a move would be to welcome back into the church an estimated four million divorced and remarried Catholics. The document further pledges the church "to a serious effort to reconcile separated, divorced and remarried Catholics within our community of faith."

A document entitled Work pledges the church to support of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

A document on Ethnicity and Race calls upon the church to recognize cultural pluralism in American society and the right of ethnic groups to develop within their traditional cultures. The document also asks that there be more black and Hispanic bishops and that an Indian be appointed.

Both the neighborhood and nationhood documents call for further consultation with the bishops and that such consultation "become a regular element in U.S. Catholic life." Finally, the documents recommend that delegates from the conference be appointed by the bishops to promote the implementation of the conference recommendations and, within five years, set in motion another conference to evaluate the results of the recommendations.

The complete texts of the documents will be in the bishops' hands by December, for study before the bishops go to Chicago in May. Much depends on how balanced and thoughtful that study is.

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an exchange of views

'The Vietnamese Babylift'

Boulder, Colo.

To the Editors: We feel Susan Abrams' article,.. "The.. Vietnamese Babylift" [Sept. 24] is heavily biased, poorly researched, slanderous, and libelous. We are surprised to find such an unscholarly article in *Commonweal* and strongly request that you print our response to her innuendos and accusations in its entirety.

Basic to any educated understanding of the evacuation of children from Vietnam in April, 1975, would be the knowledge of the orphanage system for at least the ten years prior to the fall of the Saigon regime. A cursory review of the numerous articles published in American newspapers and magazines on this subject during those years reveals a surprising unanimity of conclusions despite the wide variety of backgrounds, political persuasions, and abilities of the writers. These writers found that Vietnamese orphanages were overcrowded, understaffed (often one adult per 15-50 children), lacking in the most elementary medical care (no soap, no nurses, no measles vaccine, etc.), and without the funds and supplies to adequately feed the children. The results were physical, mental, and emotional deprivation and retardation, malnutrition (often severe), and death rates of over fifty percent.

Despite the Vietnamese tradition that the extended family would care for an orphan, the fact remains that the overall orphanage population continued to increase, despite the death rate, as a result of the high abandonment rate. Indeed, there were children in orphanages who had living, identifiable parents who had expressed their hope or intention of returning for their children when possible. The Catholic Sisters with whom we worked intimately *never* released such children for adoption. These women remained in Vietnam after the evacuation. With them they kept those children who were known to have *any* extended family or whose parents had said they would reclaim them.

Beyond those children, however, the fact remains that over one thousand newborn infants were abandoned each month without a shred of identity in maternity clinics, at orphanage gates, on the street, and in garbage dumps. We know about abandonment in Viet Nam from long and close relationships with the nuns who ran the orphanages and our staff who lived there for years and retrieved many of those discarded waifs.

Our program in Vietnam was carried out by women who dedicated years of their lives to loving and caring for these children. We had four halfway houses (accommodating around five hundred children) which offered intensive care to newborns, physical therapy to the handicapped, schooling to the older children, and good nutrition and love to all. Although the houses were staffed with volunteer nurses and nuns from several countries, we trained and employed several hundred Vietnamese women as child care workers. In addition we offered counseling to unwed mothers and made every possible effort to help them find a viable way to keep their children. Beyond that we financially supported several orphanages in outlying provinces, delivered powdered milk and medical supplies to them, and conducted many vaccination programs.

The attorneys for the plaintiffs in the case in the U.S. District Court in San Francisco seem mesmerized by the theory that the bulk of the airlift children were either relinquished by panicked mothers just prior to the fall of Saigon, were cleared en masse from orphanages where they had been stored pending a parent's return, or were "whisked off the streets," as Ms. Abrams states. We will swear to the fact that of the 575 children we transported on the airlift, fewer than 10 were relinquished after March 15, 1975, by mothers. The rest of the large number of FFAC children that the plaintiff's attorneys question were released to our agency by orphanages, not mothers. The fact is that we sent away a constant stream of parents who begged us to take their children in the final days. We refused them to the end.

The statement that at least 1500 airlift children are ineligible for adoption is false. The court-appointed masters have not been able to accurately determine eligibility due to incomplete paperwork. Although much of our documentation was lost in the crash of the C-5A and some paperwork was not completed in the few days prior to the fall of the government, every child we brought to this country had been released for adoption. *No* agency was allowed to transport children with the intent of being reunited with parents.

Of the 575 children we transported in the airlift, approximately 180 children were being adopted *privately* (not through an agency) by European families who had made arrangements directly with an orphanage. At that time FFAC had approximately 550 children in its care (500 was the normal number reported on our rolls every month and 50 was an average number of new arrivals each month). This means that approximately 155 children were left behind. That group consisted of those who were retarded, those who were too sick to travel, and those who were to be returned to orphanages and/or parents since we had only agreed to obtain medical care for them. Can Ms. Abrams logically explain why we would kidnap children from parents when we were not able to bring all of those children who were legally abandoned

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and in our care and custody—or why we would kidnap children from parents when we were in the process of returning children to parents?

The 250 airlift children we placed for adoption in the U.S. account for only a little over ten percent of the 2,000 who came. We wonder why only FFAC and Friends of Children of Vietnam (entirely separate corporations, although both are based and licensed in Colorado) are the only agencies named—not only in Ms. Abrams' article but in most other publications—when several other large, reputable agencies including Holt, Inc. and Catholic Relief Services, account for the rest.

We also wonder why the plaintiffs accuse others of impeding the court process, thereby causing more pain to all concerned, when it is they who have continually dragged their feet. The appeal for the class action suit which was scheduled to be heard in July, 1976, has had no date set yet since they filed their briefs improperly twice.

Ms. Abrams specifically mentions several cases where Vietnamese relatives are trying to retrieve children. Although she wonders how local judges can weigh the "best interests" in terms other than "affluence, status, upward mobility, and Americanism," this does not appear to be a problem, since in every case involving an adoption agency, of which we are aware, the judge has returned the child to the relative.

Although it would take too much space to detail every case we can say that, to the best of our knowledge, the cases Ms. Abrams mentions involving Huynh Thi O and two children, Nguyen Thi Phuc and four children, San-Shei (not mother) and child, and Tran Thi Bich and child were NOT conducted through an adoption agency but were private placements by the mother or relative. The case of Doan Van Binh (Nelson) was an agency placement (not FFAC) and was settled in court by returning the child to his Vietnamese mother.

We cannot comment on the cases of My Hang Brodyaga and the nephews of Jeanette Strump since they involve other agencies; however, we wish to emphasize that there are circumstances beyond those which Ms. Abrams reported.

The case of Vo Hhi Hao involves FFAC and another agency and is the only case we have ever had in litigation of the 750 placements we made in the U.S. in two and one half years. This case is still in court which means, unfortunately, that we cannot comment. In addition we are aware of seven Vietnamese mothers whose eleven children (none FFAC) have been returned to them voluntarily without litigation and with the direct help and assistance of the agency involved.

We are shocked by that statement of Doug Hostetter of the Methodist Mission to the UN that agency employees demanded a relinquishment from the parents for a child in return for medical care. FFAC never participated in such cruel and unprofessional conduct. In any event, such treatment should have been reported immediately to the Vietnamese Ministry of Social Welfare and USAID, and an attorney retained for the parents to bring charges in court.

We could continue on and comment on every allegation in Ms. Abrams' article. Unfortunately the damage done by a one-sentence allegation often takes at least a paragraph to explain. We categorically dispute every allegation by Ms. Abrams and the various people she interviewed as "experts." We know otherwise.

In conclusion, we wish to state that our work in Vietnam was not motivated by politics (saving the children from Communism) religion (offering them Christianity), kidnapping (to supply a U.S. baby market with children who already had parents who wanted to keep them), salving our guilt about the war, nor depriving a country of future generations. Our desire to provide a chance at life for these children crossed national, cultural, racial, social, religious, political, and economic boundaries.

We gave these children the promise of a mother and father instead of no one; the warmth of a bed instead of hard, wooden slats; the satisfaction of a full stomach instead of a swollen, empty belly; the advantage of essential medical care instead of the threat of death from measles, infections, starvation; the security of knowing they were loved instead of rejected and lonely. And, in the end, some of our staff died for these children.

It is a pity that Ms. Abrams, the plaintiffs in the San Francisco court case, and numerous others are so glib today with answers as to how it should have been done. We are proud of our work in Vietnam. Our efforts were full of love and sacrifice and *always* honest. To twist them into the sordid allegations we have listened to the past one and one half years is indeed ugly.

WENDE S. GRANT, Director
SUZANNE DOSH, Assistant Director
Friends for All Children

Denver, Colo.

To the Editors: As volunteers for almost two years in the child welfare programs directed by Friends For All Children in Vietnam, we read with great sadness and dismay the untruthful article by Susan Abrams, "The Vietnam Babylift" [Sept. 24].

Without feeling any need to justify ourselves and our involvement in Vietnam, we nonetheless feel impelled to write in fairness and honesty to the children with whom we lived and whom we love. We do not presume to have the whole answer, but we consider it imperative that we do speak from our experience.

The program we joined in Vietnam was begun by a young Australian woman who went to Vietnam without any intention whatever of being involved in adoptions in any way. But after working in a Saigon orphanage and observing the overcrowded, understaffed, and inadequately supplied conditions in this and other orphanages throughout the country, Rosemary Taylor saw the only hope for life for many of the children to be that of seeking a loving family for the child.

Rosemary and we who worked with her never pretended to have the answer to the complex political and economic problems of a war-torn Vietnam.

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We were all painfully aware that we were dealing with only one small aspect of an immense problem. But when faced with severely malnourished and diseased children, we were compelled to respond in even a limited way: to offer employment to a woman so that she could support her child; to hospitalize a dying child from an ill-equipped orphanage and then return him/her to those same pitiful conditions; to feed and shelter a 1½ pound 3-day-old child left nameless in an orphanage.

Almost all the children for whom we cared had been abandoned at orphanages or left nameless at maternity clinics. The few children we accepted directly from relatives were received only after every effort was made to obtain viable alternatives for the relative to keep the child, including offering employment for the relative and/or temporary care for the child. Any parents who returned to reclaim a child were welcomed and given any ongoing assistance we could provide.

Following the crisis in Cambodia, fearing for their children's safety, and prompted by love, it is true that in April 1975 we were approached by many, many more parents including our own Vietnamese staff members, who asked to relinquish their children for adoption so that they could receive hope for new life somewhere abroad. Knowing the agreement between the Vietnamese and American governments that children to be transported were orphans legally free for adoption, we painfully refused such relinquishments, without the comfort of hindsight and foreknowledge.

In conclusion, we wish to reiterate our firm conviction that every child has the right to security in a loving family. If the child's own family cannot provide this, then its international family should.

We rejoice if it is so that after the change of government, families felt able to reclaim their children from orphanages and that others felt free enough from the Vietnamese tradition of the extended family to accept children not their own. We rejoice and pray that is so. But we do not grieve the part we played in offering life to children who had no hope; burying with dignity those children who died without identity; responding in this small way to the Christ we saw naked, hungry, and homeless.

SISTER DOREEN BECKETT, R.S.M.
SISTER MARY NELLE GAGE, S.L.

San Francisco, Calif.

To the Editors: For the past twelve years I have been faithful reader and supporter of *Commonweal.* If Ms. Abrams "Vietnam Babylift" [Sept. 29] is representative of the level of reporting in *Commonweal* during these twelve years my trust—and financial support—have been badly misplaced.

For the past year I have served as attorney in the Babylift suit in San Francisco for two of the adoption agencies (Friends For All Children and Holt Adoption Program, Inc.) which sponsored children brought to the United States in Operation Babylift. Even a cursory review of the volumes of pleadings and hours of testimony developed during that year—a review that Ms. Abrams obviously did not bother to make—shows that the allegations repeatedly made by plaintiffs' attorneys, and reiterated in Ms. Abrams' article, have simply not been shown to be facts.

Some examples: 1. Although plaintiffs' attorneys have presented testimony that direct mail communication between Viet Nam and the U.S. is open and without difficulty, there has not been since the Babylift, a *single* request for the return of a child to Viet Nam. 2. Contrary to Ms. Abrams' statements about the State Department's inaction, the record shows that the State Department has attempted to use international channels to find out what degree of cooperation could be worked out with respect to Babylift children with the new government of Viet Nam. The international agency has reported that the Vietnamese government makes no response to its requests. 3. The adoption agencies and government have not opposed tracing—they have opposed the tracing plan put forth by plaintiffs' attorneys and have submitted several alternative plans designed to protect children from fraudulent claims and individuals in Viet Nam from invasions of their privacy. 4. Every instance of claimed ineligibility of a child sponsored by the agencies before the court has been disputed in detail by the relevant agency.

More striking than these examples are certain overall inconsistencies which have become clear. It has been throughout the adoption agencies—and *not* the plaintiffs' attorneys—who have had to urge the uniqueness of each child and the necessity for due process in the determination of each child's rights. Equally strange is the insistence of plaintiffs' attorneys, claiming to represent the children's interests, that in this situaton some standard *other than* a child's best interests ought to govern. The clearest evidence of "racism" in the case, moreover, has been in affidavits of purported experts, submitted by plaintiffs' attorneys, condemning interracial adoptions. There has been throughout the case an overall willingness on the part of plaintiffs' attorneys to sacrifice any individual child to ideology that should chill the soul of any believer in our Constitution.

Ms. Abrams' sloppy and misleading reporting is, sadly, an example of the willingness of people all along the political spectrum to distort, bury and ignore the truth when it fails to confirm their conventional wisdom. I am afraid she has affected permanently my ability to take seriously what *Commonweal* has to say about anything.

KATE CLAIR FREELAND

Reply

Last May I asked Ms. Wende Grant to comment on many points I raised regarding the Babylift, including charges made against adoption agencies in already published articles. I also encouraged comments on additional points she considered to be significant, expressing my interest in taking into account the views of all parties concerned. She never bothered to respond (nor does

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she mention my request here), yet now faults me for being one-sided.

Would that the various adoption agencies while in Vietnam had acted as described in the letters printed above! The problems which have surfaced in the past eighteen months prove this idealistic picture to be a false one.

FFAC associates place the blame on plaintiffs' attorneys or the Vietnamese government rather than those whose actions led (and continue to lead) to great pain for several thousand people, for example accusing of racism or neglect of due process the individuals most sensitive to these issues. Those affiliated with FFAC sidestep most of the major issues, with their letters thus being probably more significant for what they omit than what they state: the adoption agencies' complicity in the U.S. State Department's public relations gestures; their ignorance of the availability of willing foster parents in Vietnam; their preference for an expensive foreign adoption program (which affected relatively few children) over the use of funds to improve orphanages or aid needy parents and foster parents in Vietnam; their disregard for the Geneva Convention; Washington's pitifully small contribution toward the care of children in orphanages; the agencies' reluctance to make their records on the children available; the real reasons they oppose an aggressive tracing program in Vietnam; their lack of interest in tracing for parents among refugees in the U.S.; how their insistence on a conventional interpretation of the traditional "best interests" standard in custody struggles avoids the question of legality; why it is the plaintiffs and not the adoption agencies and U.S. government who are trying to rectify a situation shown, as early as April, 1975, to be grievously in error; why, while discounting the plaintiffs' experts, the defendants were unable to marshal any convincing evidence in court for their expressed fear of the new Vietnamese government's supposed retribution against "delinquent" parents.

The misplaced trust in USAID and the Vietnamese Ministry of Social Welfare which Ms. Grant and Dosh express says a good bit about a political bias they deny as motivating their work and/or ignorance of the larger political context of their work which is inappropriate for officials of agencies operating in war-torn Vietnam.

At no point in my article did I deny that employees of adoption agencies might have provided for the children's physical well-being or even loved them, nor that American adoptive parents could provide a loving home. It is obviously quite possible for some people to act in a sincere and conscientious way while carrying out something that was dead wrong to begin with (and for others then to find suitable rationalizations for their actions).

The Babylift children were, in fact, sacrificed to ideology, as Ms. Freeland states. But it occurred *before* they left Vietnam.

SUSAN ABRAMS

NEGLECTED STORIES

PRESS

There are three possible reasons why the American press has published as close to nothing as two-graf stories can get about Vietnam since the other side won not quite a year and a half ago.

(1) The war is over. The United States is out. The story is dead because there is nothing left to happen.

(2) A nameless spiritual malaise—part regret, part guilt, and part simple exhaustion—attaches to the very word "Vietnam." No one wants to think about it anymore. Maybe later, after a decade or two. Not now.

(3) It hasn't occurred to anyone there is a great story there, waiting to be reported and written.

At the time, of course, the *Times* and the *Post* and the other major papers covered the story heavily, even obsessively, printing more about the advance of the North Vietnamese, the collapse of Saigon's army, and the refusal of Congress to come up with still more funds than any ordinary citizen could conceivably read and still get to work on time. I was struck by the clarity with which editors grasped the size of the event. A 30-year policy had failed utterly and the last act, so long foreseen, was unfolding *right now*. The spectacle of Americans fleeing a conquered city had not been seen since the Civil War and the final departure was recorded every step of the way, just as it should have been.

But then the story simply disappeared. Sidney Schanberg lingered on in Pnom Penh and there were a lot of Vietnamese refugees to resettle, but the larger drama —the victory of the party of Ho Chi Minh after 35 years and three wars against the Japanese, the French and the Americans, surely one of the greatest national struggles in history; and a final if not public admission of failure in Washington;—all that simply disappeared from the press.

The story didn't go anywhere; it was only the national attention which wandered. This is very odd. Consider for a moment some aspects of the story which was being ignored. First, the cast of characters. Richard Nixon in San Clemente let it be known what *he* would have done if he'd still been President, and Gerald Ford in Washington was under the psychological pressure to act which finally resulted in the Mayaguez affair. The "decent interval" written into Henry Kissinger's peace was proving indecently short; can this have come as a surprise to him? Was he telling the President that the game was up? Or was he committed to stretching out the interval—militarily if not diplomatically—at least until the next election, in keeping with Ellsberg's law?

What was the position of U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin? When did he start to push for an evacution

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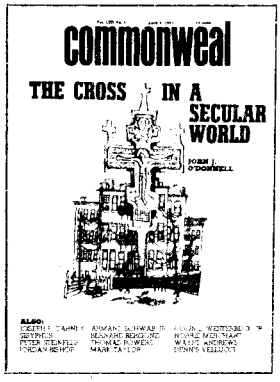

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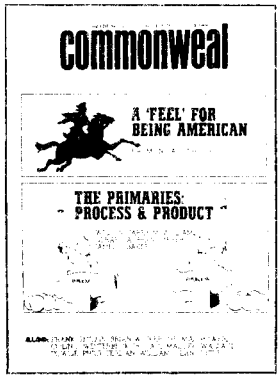

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program? When did he start to burn the files? Whom did he call up to bid goodbye? Was the American diplomatic community in Saigon caught by surprise? Was it still living a dream even at the end?

What was the CIA telling Ford and Kissinger? Did it recognize the end for the end, and if it did, why did it neglect to destroy computer tapes listing every South Vietnamese who had ever been on the CIA's payroll? Whom did the CIA insist on bringing out, and whom leave behind?

Nearly every fact of American life was touched in one way or another—from Pan American Airlines to Congress, from the families of Marine legation guards to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. There must have been gnashing of teeth and weeping and numbed sorrow and disbelief and humiliation and perhaps even moments of self-doubt all over Washington. What did McNamara and Rusk think? Did Walt Rostow want to reach for his phone in Texas? Did McGeorge Bundy cancel his appointments for the day in New York?

The humiliating flight from Saigon while desperate South Vietnamese pounded on the embassy gates was visible evidence of the completeness of American failure in Vietnam. Even the Japanese left in good order, while the French retired from the field with their arms and a piece of paper. Only the Americans had to flee pell mell, with their shirt sleeves hanging out of suitcases and the memory of weeping friends.

Thirty years of effort, $150 billion or more, 60,000 Americans and countless French and Vietnamese lives, a whole decade of American political life were going down the drain as the last helicopters took off from the embassy roof, leaving all those disbelieving clerks in their white shirts still pounding on the gates. Was Ford urged to send in the planes? Why did he break the pattern of American presidents where Vietnam was concerned, and let it go? Did he understand it had to be, or was he simply helpless?

You'd think there's be a story in all that, but so far it has failed to appear. Watergate began to generate books even before Nixon was out of office and the flood has not broken even yet. Not only have they been published, they've been read. *An American Life* by Jeb Magruder, Theodore White's *Breach of Faith, Jimmy* Breslin's *How the Good Guys Finally Won, The Final Days*, and Leon Jaworski's *The Right and the Power* have all been on the *Times* bestseller list. John Dean's *Blind Ambition* is on its way. I may even have forgotten one or two.

But only silence about Vietnam. The two books which have appeared—John Pilger's *The Last Day* and Tiziano Terzani's *Giai Phong!* —created hardly a ripple. Nothing else. And Pilger is an Englishman, Terzani an Italian.

It's hard to explain this. As time passed and everyone calmed down, the story opened up as stories do. No one will tell you what the Secretary of State was saying to the President *that morning*, but after a month or two they might. It's only natural. In the heat of an event an indiscretion may have an immediate effect but later on the worst is likely to be mild embarrassment.

Stories ripen. After the passage of time the event is whole, memories are still vivid, and people have had a chance to reflect. The best time to piece together almost any event, in fact, is in the middle distance, by which I mean that period which comes after the event has cooled, and before the principals have begun to write their memoirs. Once the temperature is down stories become vulnerable to reporting; they yield their factual details and emotional color. The hard part is no longer the struggle to find out anything at all, but the effort to understand what you are being told. Reporting from the middle distance is in some ways closer to history than journalism, with the exception that the documents are human memories rather than pieces of paper.

A lot of attention has been paid to journalists and journalism of late but not much of it has been directed at what I take to be the most important fact about reporting: it is expensive. It is so expensive, in fact, that the only institutions which can really afford it are big newspapers. It costs at least $100 a day to go on the road and even a relatively simple story—a profile, say—can take a month or more if you go about it seriously. A magazine like *Harper's* or *Esquire* will not often spend as much as $2,500 on a story, and even that would not keep a *Washington Post* man going for more than a month. *New York* magazine gave Norman Mailer most of an issue and $15,000 last summer for a long piece about the CIA, an astonishing sum for a general magazine, and enough, perhaps, to pay for the first three paragraphs of a major investigative piece by Seymour Hersh.

Reader's Digest, Playboy and perhaps one or two of the women's magazines have the resources for ambitious reporting, but a glance at their contents pages will prove they don't often do it, and are sometimes erratic or whimsical in their choice of subject when they do. The *New Yorker* is the only magazine with the imagination and the money for reporting that matters. The others must make do with think pieces, or with fact pieces which have been researched at someone else's expense.

Book publishers will occasionally underwrite a major piece of reporting, but no more than a handful of writers can negotiate contracts sufficient to pay expenses and a New York policeman's salary for the year it takes to do a book of that sort. In most instances the book must be researched and written at night, or subsidized by a foundation, or paid for by the writer out of savings.

Only a newspaper could easily afford to undertake a major account of the end of the American adventure in Vietnam, and, equally important, find the space to

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print it. The importance of the subject would certainly justify the expense and the space. The story will never be more accessible than it is right now. I would be amazed if it were not dramatic enough to interest readers. Why, then, hasn't some newspaper done it?

The reason, I think, is simply that the idea hasn't occurred to anyone. Profiles, investigations of malfeasance and skullduggery, trend pieces and long reports on sociological, environmental and political subjects are all well-established forms in newspaper convention, but historical narrative is not. Or at least, it is not in this country.

The *London Sunday Times* Insight Team has often written history of this sort—on the Philby conspiracy, the Clifford Irving-Howard Hughes hoax, the Cleveland Street affair, the Zinoviev telegram, among others—but no American paper has followed their example in a determined manner. *Newsday* probably comes closer than any other. It has spent a lot of money with brilliant results on ambitious reporting—a long report of Bebe Rebozo's financial affairs, a huge investigation of the heroin industry—but it has never, so far as I know, attempted to reconstruct the history of an event.

My reason for wishing that someone would is not simply impatient curiosity, but a feeling that some things must be discovered by reporters if they are ever to be discovered at all. Memoirs are notoriously cautious and narrow, and often appear too late for challenge; official documents are, after all, official, and even the private working papers of government are frequently incomplete, misleading or self-serving. The only way to find out certain things—did Kissinger really think peace was at hand; what did Graham Martin say to Ford when he got home?—is to ask the people who ought to know. What Kissinger wouldn't say about himself, others might. Interim accounts may not tell the full story, but at the very least they will encourage honest accounts from the principals later on.

The expulsion of the United States from Vietnam is only one example of an event which deserves the dense treatment which only a newspaper's resources could provide; there are many others. My own candidates would be the Angola affair, Truman's decision to use the A-bomb, the Cuban missile crisis, the last years of *Life* magazine, the murders of Sam Giancana and John Rosselli, the Portuguese revolution, the wile of J. Edgar Hoover, the life and death of Salvador Allende, the Phoenix program, the building of the Alaska pipeline, the origins of the Cold War, the murder of Trotsky, the rise of Las Vegas, the Hungarian revolution, the Christmas bombing of Hanoi, the deportation of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the collapse of the British pound, and, a year or two after he leaves office, the public career of Henry Kissinger.

These stories all share at least four things in common: they are worth looking into, they would especially benefit from a newspaper's unique ability to interview a lot of different people in a lot of different places, it would be all but impossible to come up with nothing, and in most cases the story would probably make a book which would help recover expenses. They all deserve to be written, and maybe some of them will be. But Vietnam first.

THOMAS POWERS

FESTIVAL FOOTNOTES

THE SCREEN

Over the years the New York Film Festival has become less and less superfluous until, now, it is downright essential. This change in its status has been brought about by three things. First, the general distribution of films has grown less reliable and responsible. Five years ago somewhere between 200 and 400 films were getting distribution of some kind in New York each year, but now the annual figures run about half of that and are still shrinking. If a film gets distribution and shows signs of being popular, it often takes over two, three or four other theaters besides the one it opened in. Thus, while some films saturate the market, others get no chance to open at all. And in the meantime, there are key theaters in Manhattan that have recently closed for varying periods because their owners could find nothing to show. The answer to this is that these owners have not been looking very hard, or have been purposely looking the other way while worthwhile films have gone begging for play dates.

As a consequence of this situation, many New Yorkers try to squeeze their whole year's movie-going into the two weeks of the Festival, whose thirty-five or forty screenings—two for each film—are now almost always sold out. The Festival has had its distribution problems too, however. There were a couple of years back in the early seventies, at the time Richard Roud first moved from the job of program organizer to director of the Festival as a whole, when the Festival went through some wild gyrations.

The Festival has been at Lincoln Center ever since it was begun in 1963, but in the early seventies it traveled around from one Center theater to the other like a carnival staying just one jump ahead of the sheriff. First it was in cavernous Philharmonic (now Avery Fisher) Hall. That year some of the press screenings were standing-room-only despite the size of the hall—Andy Warhol swept in each day with an entourage of around twenty free-loaders—but at the paid-admission screenings for the public, the place was often half empty. The next year Roud clamped down ruthlessly on the press passes, attendance at some press screenings barely reaching a dozen; and the Festival's sponsors clamped

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down on Roud, punishing him through banishment of the Festival to tiny Vivian Beaumont Theater, a semi-circular space that was ill-suited, to say the least, for projecting movies.

In those years the Festival seemed to lose its sense of mission as well. Up until then there had been, for instance, two new Godard films for it to introduce to American audiences each year. Godard was not alone, of course. To cite just one other service the Festival performed, one year it gave its subscribers a chance to discover an unknown young Italian director named Bernardo Bertolucci. But I mention Godard especially as a reminder of the golden age of innovation and regeneration filmmaking was experiencing in the sixties.

As the excitement of those years and the energy of the New Wave subsided in the early seventies, the Festival seemed uncertain where to turn for inspiration. Because of the breathing spell in movie history, and, perhaps too, because of its own administrative difficulties as Roud learned the ropes, the Festival looked for awhile as if it would become a mere launching pad. This is not to say bad films were shown. It is just that the Festival, as if trying to recover popularity by grabbing some Big Boffo for itself, fell into the habit of premiering films which then had immediate commercial openings fueled by big advertising campaigns. One wondered briefly whether the Festival could become the same sort of servile aid to money and power in the American film industry that the American Film Institute is.

But all's well that ends well. The Festival has now found an appropriate home in Alice Tully Hall, and, more important, film history has taken a couple of new twists that only a festival can accommodate. These are, besides new constrictions in the general distributing system and administrative improvements in the Festival itself, the third thing that has restored the significance of the Festival. One of these historical twists is that films have begun to get longer—*much* longer. In fact, Roud's own article for the Festival program this year is about this development. About half of this year's films ran over two hours, and a couple of films, as in other years recently, were in the three-five hour range.

In recent years, too, filmmaking has lost its grip on reality. That is to say, it has tended increasingly to give up the sort of linear narrative that audiences think of as "realistic" in movies, and it has edged toward much more open, free-associative forms that used to be found only in avant-garde filmmaking. Think for example of Altman's *Nashville* or Bunuel's *The Phantom of Liberty*, both of which wander from episode to episode without really having any central characters or story line at all. Again, these eccentric shapes and running times have appeared in movies at just the moment conventional distribution channels were atrophying—and becoming less able to accommodate change. So this is where the Festival comes in today. It now shows us all the new, inventive, potentially classic and influential films that are too cerebral, too crazy, too obscure, too remote, too controversial, too long, or too wide to be seen elsewhere.

The film that was too wide this year was Akira Kurosaw's *Dersu Uzala*. A Japanese-Soviet co-production about a guide in the Siberian wilderness, the film was made in some ultra-widescreen process that will not even fit on most movie screens. Only the Russians could have invented such a process, and only Kurosawa, who is the world's past master of the epic style, could use a process like this to advantage. What he is after in terms of framing, lighting effects and atmosphere is demonstrated in one incredible shot where he gets not only his two main characters, but both the sun and moon on his wide, wide screen at the same time.

Among the films that were too long was *Touch of Zen*, which, as I made clear in my last column, I did not care for (though of course I'm glad for the chance to have seen it). But the longest film in the Festival, Marcel Ophuls' *The Memory of Justice*, was also perhaps the best and certainly the most moving. Ophuls apologized to the audience that he would have made the film shorter if he could. But the truth is it could probably not be any shorter and still do justice to our memories of Nuremberg and Vietnam the way it does now. The film's epicenters are its long, intermittent interviews with Albert Speer and Telford Taylor. The former of course begins as Nazi villainy incarnate and the latter as an avenging hero, especially when seen as well in newsreel footage from his prosecution of the war crimes trials. But gradually Ophuls brings both men down to human scale, and thus makes us confront more thoughtfully than any other work I know the banalities, and sympathies, of both good and evil.

Among the films that were too cerebral, too crazy or too unconventional in their narratives were also a couple of the best—Francois Truffaut's *Small Change*, about a bunch of kids who just happen to go to the same grade school, and Alain Tanner's *Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000*, about a bunch of politically-minded people who happen to come together in the same short-lived commune. But perhaps more about these later. . . The fact is that both Truffaut's film and Tanner's have, like Ophuls', already gotten commercial openings in New York, and they therefore stand a chance of being seen elsewhere as well. This may sound as if the Festival is just being used as a launching pad again, but actually such is not the case. On the contrary, where the Festival used to be exploited by distributors, its films have commercial runs now because it has real influence on the distributors. While distributors used to tell the Festival what to show, it is now sometimes telling them instead. There may be some hope for movies yet.

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CHILDREN'S BOOKS FOR THE BICENTENNIAL

ELIZABETH MINOT GRAVES

From Steven Kellogg's "Yankee Doodle," written by Edward Bangs; Parents Magazine Press

"Come join in hand brave
Americans all,
And rouse your bold hearts in fair
Liberty's call."

Children's books celebrating the birth of the United States have flourished this Bicentennial year.

"The Liberty Song" quoted above appears in a handsome, large *Liberty Book*, a collection of poems, sayings by famous patriots, and government declarations lovingly gathered and illustrated by Leonard Everett Fisher in red, white, and blue, making a bicentennial souvenir for the entire family. (Doubleday. $5.95.)

Children and adults will also delight in Steven Kellogg's gay, impish paintings for a rousing, little-known version of *Yankee Doodle* by Edward Bangs, a Harvard student and Minuteman. (Parents'. $5.50.)

Good biographies help make the past vivid and contemporary. Two of the Bicentennial best are by Jean Fritz: *Will You Sign Here, John Hancock?* with pictures by Trina Schart Hyman, and *What's the Big Idea, Ben Franklin?* with pictures by Margot Tomes. (Coward. Each $6.95. 7-10.) An enthusiastic and careful historian, Mrs. Fritz has recently found her special niche with her warm, witty, and colloquial portraits. Here is rich, party-loving John Hancock, longing for popularity, but also a dedicated, generous public servant; and Ben Franklin, "America's best arguer," brimming with big ideas, mischief—and common sense. Mrs. Fritz's homey detail and narrative skill make both real men, not statues on pedestals.

Among the more traditional biographies are: *Black Heroes of the Revolution* by Burke Davis, with period prints and paintings (Harcourt. $6.95. 9-14.), a needed volume that pays tribute to the many overlooked blacks who helped win independence—for others; *Spies and Traitors* by Joseph and Ellen Raskin (Lothrop. $5.75. 9-13.) exciting adventures and escapes which read almost like fiction; and *Patriots in Petticoats* by Patricia E. Syne (Dodd. $4.95. 9-12.) light, easy-reading vignettes of female partisans—with notes on memorials that families can visit. *Generous Strangers* by Pearle H. Schultz (Vanguard. $6.95. 10-14.) six European military leaders who came to aid General Washington—their motives, frustrations and triumphs.

The Glorious Hour of Lt. Monroe by Richard Hanser (Atheneum. $6.95. 11-15.) follows James Monroe's military career from the time he joined the army until he was wounded at Trenton. It is not a personal biography but rather a scholarly documentary of the discouraging early months of the Revolution until Washington's important Trenton victory, when the tide of war turned. *The Story of the Boston Massacre* by Mary Kay Phelan and illustrated by Allan Eitzen (Crowell. $5.95. 9-14.) recreates events leading to the Massacre and the subsequent trial, so important in proving the colonies' dedication to justice. It is lively and well-researched. I only wish Ms. Phelan had not felt impelled to use the present tense.

Two unusual and distinguished books for teenagers—real contributions—are: *Founding Mothers: Women of America in the Revolutionary Era* by Linda Grant de Pauw, a professor at George Washington University (Houghton. $6.95.) and *Demeter's Daughters; The Women Who Founded America 1587-1787* by Selma R. Williams, (Prints & Paintings. Atheneum. $9.95.), a Massachusetts writer specializing in feminist history. Original, invaluable, fresh, both are the result of a lot of dedicated digging into little-known historical sources, and give a new look at Colonial America and the important roles women played in the economy and in developing and embodying the ideals of the Revolution. *Founding Mothers* is filled with forceful, biting vignettes of ordinary, hard-working 18th century women and has a particularly eye-opening chapter on the many *paid* women who served with Washington's army. *Demeter's Daughters* covers more years, and more cultural activities, and has many quotes. Both stress the greater freedom women had before the Revolution than after when prosperity led to "the lady," though the Revolutionary ideals eventually helped pave the way for both blacks' and women's rights and recognition.

Historical fiction has been sadly in decline in recent years (why? perhaps because tragically little history is taught in schools?). Fortunately some of the few, new historical novels have hard-hitting realism or a fresh approach.

Zenas and the Shaving Mill by master-storyteller F.N. Monjo, and gracefully illustrated by Richard Cuffari, gives a rare pacifist view of the Revolution and the effect of the war on the Nantucket Quakers, in particular a seafaring boy. (Coward. $5.95. 7-10.)

ELIZABETH MINOT GRAVES *is a freelance writer and children's book editor.*

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Toliver's Secret by Esther Wood Brady (Crown. $5.95. 8-11.) also illustrated by Cuffari, is refreshing in that it is a *girl* who takes a secret military message through enemy territory.

Interestingly enough, *Freelon Starbird* by Richard F. Snow (Houghton. $7.95. 12-16.) covers much of the same military action as *The Glorious Hour of Lt. Monroe*—with a big difference. Freelon, the witty, fun-loving, anti-hero who signed up for the army during a night of drinking (to his regret), would never have described the fighting as glorious. With honesty and verve, new author Snow describes the confusion, turn-tail running from battle, the hunger and suffering that the amateur soldiers experienced and the humor that saw them through.

We are too apt to forget that, just as with the Vietnam War, many Americans disapproved the Revolution. In their recent, distinguished *My Brother Sam Is Dead*, James and Christopher Collier wrote about a family torn apart by Tory-patriot sentiments. Now in *The Bloody Country* (4 Winds. $6.95. 11-15.), their new, moving and polished novel, they explore again the tragedy of warfare as Americans fight Americans in a little-known Revolutionary action in frontier Pennsylvania. The two groups squabble over land—one aided by the British and the Indians. The novel's young hero comes to realize that freedom—which his country wins from England—is the most important thing in his personal life as well, and that Joe Mountain. the family slave and his companion, should have his freedom too. "It's hard as hell to spend your life never belonging to yourself," Ben decides.

The better Bicentennial books, it can be hoped, may help boys and girls of today realize that the ideals of the Revolution—justice, freedom, equality —have yet to be fully won by all, and work for their victory.

A SELECTED LIST

ELIZABETH MINOT GRAVES

CHRISTMAS AND RELIGION

Why A Donkey Was Chosen. By Christopher Gregowski. Ill. by Caroline Browne. Doubleday. $5.95. Luminous pictures of a humble little donkey that bore Mary. 4-7. *The Child's Gifts: A Twelfth Night Tale.* Westminster. $8.95. In both Spanish and English, with musical accompaniment, and medieval-like paintings. 7-12. *The Christmas Cat.* By Efner Tudor Holme. Ill. by Tasha Tudor. Crowell. $5.95. A Christmas "miracle" on a New England farm, with loving, old-fashioned pictures. 5.9 *Cranberry Christmas.* By Wende & Harry Devlin. Parents. $5.50. An ice-skating old sea-captain and his unusual gift to the children of Cranberryport. 5-8. *Christmas Cookbook.* By Susan Purdy. Watts. Paper $2.95. World-wide recipes for family fun. *Christmas Crafts for Everyone.* By Evelyn Cosky. Ill. by Roy Wallace. Abingdon. $8.95. Advent and Christmas decorations etc. from many lands. 140 pages—a treasure trove! 9-adult.

Jesus Tells a Story. By Joann Scheck. Ill. by Jim Roberts. Augsburg. One of 6 surprisingly attractive pop-up Bible stories. 4-8. *The Creation Jonah.* Fortress Press. "Sunshine Books"—happy little paperbacks with spritely color pictures of Bible scenes by European artists. 4-8. *A Dictionary of Mythical Places.* By Robin Palmer. Ill. by R. Cuffari. Walck. $6.95. Avalon, Hades, Mag Mor—an attractive guide. 9-14. *Song of the Pearl.* By Ruth Nichols. McElderry/Atheneum. $6.95. A haunting, visionary and beautiful novel about a girl's love—and hate—and about death as a new beginning. 12-17.

Amish People: Plain Living in a Complex World. By Carolyn Meyer. Photos. McElderry/Atheneum. $5.95. Amish life and beliefs both past and present;

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a perceptive, personalized account. 11-16.

Ann the Word: The Life of Mother Ann Lee, Founder of the Shakers. By Nardi Reeder Campion. Little. $6.95. A spirited and thoughtful portrait of the magnetic, enigmatic woman who led her followers across the sea to a new life of simplicity and celibacy. 12-16.

Learning to Say Good-by: When A Parent Dies. By Eda LeShan. Macmillan. $5.95. Kind, warm, wise, realistic, this should be of immeasurable help to children 8-14 before and after a parent's death. Indirectly, it's an affirmation of life and love.

Picture Books

Baby Animals. Trucks. Both by Harry McNaught. *Big and Little.* By J. P. Miller. *Early Words.* By Richard Scarry. Random $2.50 each. Gay board books for preschool hands.

My Nursery School. By Harlow Rockwell. Greenwillow. $6.95. Nursery school children will delight and pride in these appealing paintings of *their* activities.

Hiccup. By Mercer Mayer. Dial. $5.95. Two hiccuping hippos out in a boat—a marvelous story without words.

Old Mother Hubbard and Her Dog. Ill. by Ib Spang Olsen. Coward. $6.95. Big, witty pictures by a Danish artist dance across the pages.

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At Mary Bloom's. By Aliki. Greenwillow. $6.95. A rollicking, repetitious, highly original tale of two pet-lovers celebrating some new arrivals.

Two Strikes, Four Eyes. By Ned Delaney. Houghton. $6.95. A bumbling baseball player finally becomes the team hero when he wears his glasses. Very funny pictures of the mouse athletes.

Little Fox Goes to the End of the World. By Ann Tompert. Ill. by John Wallner. Crown. $6.95. Dreams of adventuring—wonderful doublespreads in full color. Warm, homey text.

Rotten Ralph. By Jack Gantos. Ill. by Nicole Rubel. Houghton. $6.95. Hilarious tale of a horrible cat that reforms. A talented new author and artist to remember.

Minnie Maloney & Macaroni. By Mark A. Stamaty. Dial. $4.95. A ridiculous fantasmagoria about two silly sisters' superstitions—and luck.

The Accident. By Carol Carrick. Ill. by Donald Carrick. Seabury. $6.95. Lovely watercolors of lake and forest as a boy mourns his dead dog.

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Stories For 7-10

Detective Poufy's First Case. By Charlotte Pomerantz. Ill. by Marty Norman. Addison. $5.95. A gadget-loving family, a disheveled kitchen, and an ingenious girl detective. A gay spoof!

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My Twin Sister Erika. By Ilse-Margaret Vogel. Ill. by author. Harper. $4.95. Oh, to be just me! Inge thinks. But then her twin falls ill. A poignant, deeply moving story of childhood rivalry and delights, and of grief.

Power Play. By Matt Christopher. Ill. by Ray Burns. Little. $4.95. Rabbit gains new skill as a basketball player in this lively, humorous story.

The Doll House Caper. By Jean S. O'Connell. Ill. by Erik Blegvad. Crowell. $5.95. How could the dolls help the boys find the robbers? A most original, literate, witty first novel.

Marjorie Marmelstein for President. By Marjorie Sharmat. Ill. by Ben Schechter. Harper. $4.95. Elementary school kids will certainly vote for this intimate look at school politics.

From "Little Fox Goes to the End of the World" (Crown)

Courage to Adventure: Stories of Boys and Girls Growing Up with America. Sel. by the Child Study Assoc. Ill. by R. Lonette. Crowell. $8.95. 1776-1976: 280 pages of stories by top writers.

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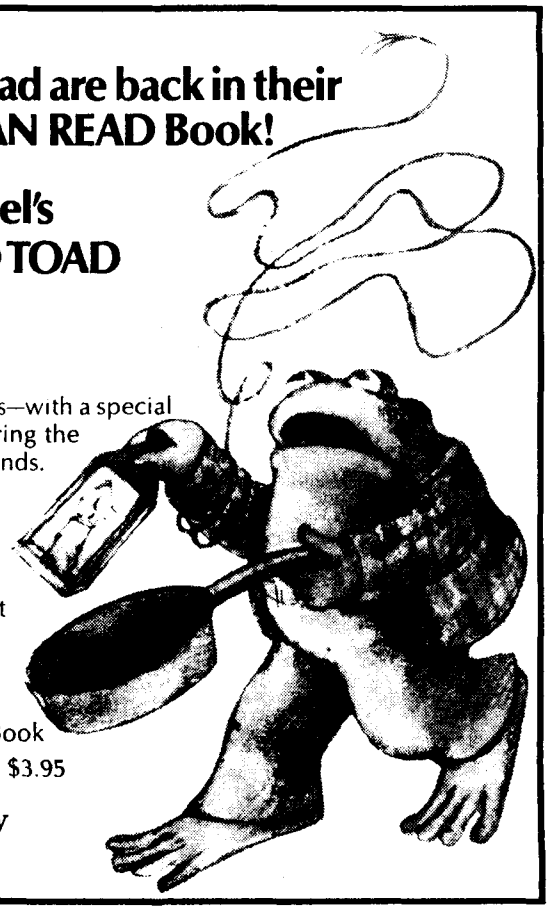

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Beat the Turtle Drum. By Constance C. Greene. Viking. $5.95. The week Joss rented a horse for her birthday was both wonderful and tragic. A sensitive story of family life—and death.

Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry. By Mildred D. Taylor. Dial. $7.95. A triumphant story of a black family's struggle for integrity and survival in Depression days South, with a mes-

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It Looks Alive to Me. By Thomas Baum. Harper. $5.50. Two New York sophisticates trapped overnight in the Natural History Museum. A highly original supernatural thriller.

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But I'm Ready To Go. By Louise Albert. Bradbury. $6.95. Perceptive, poignant portrait of a girl with learning disabilities who discovers that each individual is unique and important.

Pardon Me, You're Stepping on My Eyeball. By Paul Zindel. Harper. $6.95. A wise, wacky look at two mixed-up kids reaching out to help each other.

First Serve. By Mary Towne. Atheneum. $6.95. Excellent tennis detail in this refreshing story of a girl athlete gaining competitive spirit and confidence.

Summer of Fear. By Lois Duncan. Little. $5.95. Witchcraft in this slick, fast moving mystery that girls will love.

The Sky Is Free. By Mavis Thorpe Clark. Macmillan. $6.95. A strong story of life in a desert mining town as a runaway finds camaraderie and himself.

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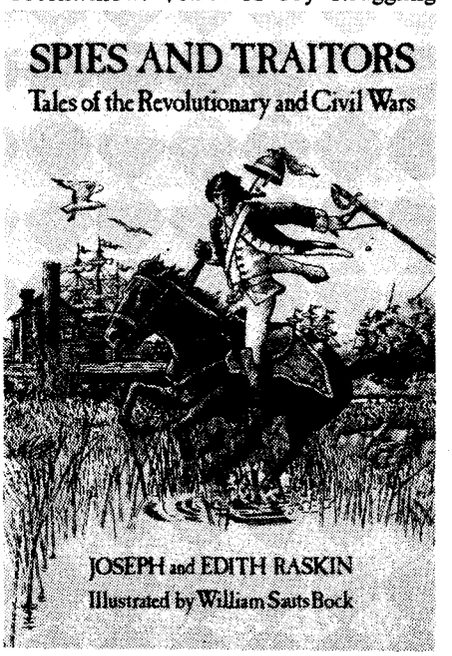
No Man's Land. By Simon Watson. Greenwillow. $6.95. A boy struggling to combat the system in a totalitarian future. Unforgettable, and great suspense.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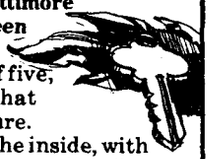

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8-11. *Far Eastern Beginnings.* By Olivia Vlahos. Ill. by G. Gord. Viking. $10.95. Asia: a dramatic panorama of its many peoples, migrations and cultures. Exceptional! *The Soviet Union Today.* By John Dornberg. Dial. $7.95. An intimate picture of Soviet society and daily life by the ex-bureau chief of *Newsweek.* Very readable. 12-adult. *The Global Food Shortage.* By Lila Perl. Morrow. $5.95.—and what we can do about it. Many photos. Excellent! 10-15. Another lucid, valuable study: *Our Hungry Earth The World Food Crisis.* By Laurence Pringle. Photos. Macmillan. $6.95. 12-16.

Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust. By Milton Meltzer. Harper. $6.95. First-hand memoirs of Jewish resistance to extermination by Hitler, plus an impassioned narrative—so *we* won't forget and will work for man's moral reconstruction. 12-18.

Nature, Science & Industry

Tugboat. By David Plowden. Macmillan. $7.95. Super photos of a tugboat at work. 8-12. *A Child's Book of Flowers.* By Kathleen Daly. Ill. by S. Smith. Doubleday. $4.95. Lovely watercolors in this sweet little identification book. 6-11. *Flying Creatures. What Comes Out of an Egg.* By Ernest Prescott. Watts. Each $4.33. Two in a new, easy science series with gay pictures on every page. 6-10. *Frozen Snakes and Dinosaur Bones.* By Margery Facklam. Photos. Harcourt. $6.95. Intriguing backstage work at a Natural History Museum. 9-13. *Catch the Wind: A Book of Windmills and Windpower.* By Landt Dennis. Many photos, prints. 4 Winds. $7.95. $15. An old—and *new*—energy source. Handsome, highly readable, unusual and important. *The Universe.* By Robin Kerrod. Big, lavishly illustrated 1-volume astronomy encyclopedia. Ditto *The Prehistoric World.* By Barry Cox. Warwick/Watts. Each $6.95. *Tropical Saltwater Aquariums: How to Set Them Up and Keep Them Going.* By Seymour Simon. Ill. by Karl Stuecklen. Viking. $6.95. A most attractive, lucid introduction. 8-13.

Psychology and Health

The Sick Book. By Marie Winns. Ill. by Fred Brenner. 4 Winds. $7.95. What happens when you have mumps and bumps. A Dr. Spock for ages 8-12. *Is That Your Sister.* By Cath. & Sherry Bunin. Photos. Pantheon. $4.95. Growing up adopted, and what it means. 5-10. *What Every Kid Should Know.* By Jonah Ralb & Dr. David Wescott. Houghton. $5.95. Friendly advice on how to cope with your feelings, and with others. 9-13. *Bombed, Buzzed, Smashed, or Sober.* By John Langone. Little. $6.95. Alcohol and alcoholism: a candid, thoughtful survey that really communicates. *Too Young to Die.* By Francine Klagsbrun. Houghton. $6.95. Youth and suicide. A superior, discerning study. 12-18. *Old Is What You Get: Dialogues on Aging by the Old and the Young.* Text & Photos by Ann Z. Shanks. Viking. $10.00. An eye-opening volume that should help bring the old back into the circle of society—and help kids to plan ahead. All ages.

Games, Sports, Crafts, Hobbies

Great for gamelovers in both city and country: *Kate Greenaway's Book of Games.* Viking. $8.95. A charming reproduction. *And Games in the Street.* By Rachel Gallagher. Photos. 4 Winds. $6.95. A wealth of information.

Recommended biographies for young sports-lovers, all with many photos: *Dorothy Hamill: Olympic Champion.* By Eliz. van Steenwyck. Harvey. $4.49. 8-12. *Babe Ruth: Sultan of Swat.* By Charles S. Verral. Garrard. $3.58. 8-11. *Franco Harris.* By George Sullivan. Raintree. $4.95. 9-14. *Pele.* By James Haskins. Doubleday. $5.95. 10-14. *Great Latin Sports Figures* By Jerry Izenberg. Doubleday. $5.95. 10-16.

Good sports history and how-to. *Olympic Games in Ancient Greece.* By Shirley Glubok & Alfred Tamarin. This magnificent recreation includes ancient art. 10 up. *This is Pro Hockey.* By George Sullivan. Dodd. $4.95. 9-15. *Basic Soccer Strategy.* By Brian L.

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Denyer. Diagrams. Doubleday. $5.95. A detailed introduction for 10-17. *Keep Your Car Running: How to Be an Auto Genius.* By Tom MacPherson. Putnam. $6.95. 16 up.

Holiday games, decorations, recipes etc. are described in *The Little Witch's Thanksgiving Book.* By Linda Glovach. Prentice. $5.95. *Things to Do and Make for Valentine's Day.* By Tomie de Paoli. Watts. $4.90. Both 5-10. Other craft-hobby fun: *Lots and Lots of Candy.* By Carolyn Meyer. Harcourt. $5.95. Scrumptious, old-fashioned recipes plus candy history. 10-14. *Totems, Decoys, & Covered Wagons: Cardboard Constructions from Early American Life.*

From "What Sadie Sang" (Greenwillow)

By Jeremy Comins. Lothrop. $5.95. 8-13. *The Tell Tale Line: The Secrets of Hand-Writing Analysis.* By Peggy Mann. Samples. Macmillan. $6.95. 10-ups will love trying it out.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 739*)

resist the necessary level of emotional vulnerability, and sexual union is reduced to the level of mere physical union, susceptible to routinization, trivialization, and self-gratification, which undermines rather than nourishes these feelings. The individual may learn to harden himself to his emotional reactions in the unconscious effort to protect these feelings, but such hardening also desensitizes us to the emotions of others, making close personal relationships impossible.

When it is also recognized that the feelings of trust, self-confidence, and self-worth enable us to repress our instinct for self-preservation and respond to our altruistic instincts, we will be able to recognize the profound effect on human behavior which results from attitudes and behavior that reduce sexual union to the level of mere physical intimacy, and undermines these feelings.

MARILYN KRAMER

East Lansing, Mich.

To the Editors: Peter Steinfels seems to lack his customary acuity in his reaction to the great J. M. Cameron article, "The Prison of Sexual Liberation," in the May 13 *New York Review of Books.* The "cautious distance" and "superior detachment" Steinfels finds weaken the effectiveness of Cameron's criticisms of the sexual liberation movement are emphatically not a stance of one above the battle: rather, the quality of reserve and irony underscore, rather than detract from, a stringent moral criticism which is all the more effective for not being delivered at the top of the lungs. How better could Cameron have conveyed his condemnation of a sexual revolution (in the name of making a dandy aesthetic peak experience available to all those sexually frightened people out there), than by coolly, in an unflapped critical style, have remarked that the liberators have destroyed the experience in "liberating" it from all intimacy and spontaneity? Cameron's article is far and away the best I have read on the subject. We have kept silent too long, too many of us, while the oxen of this liberation movement have trampled down the rose gardens.

Lord knows we need all the insight we can get in the arcane field of human sexuality. That is why I welcomed and took seriously the questionnaire on sexual practices a certain popularizing psychological journal offered its readers a few years ago. By sending in frank replies to the pages of intimate questions provided, we would help, so we were told, in determining for the first time what was the sexual profile of the readership, and by extrapolation, I suppose, the public at large. Good, I thought; this information needs to be assembled scientifically; I will do my part by filling out the questionnaire. It took only a few attempts at answers to convince me that a) it was a lousy set of questions, or b) I did not really exist.

Let me explain. Typical questions resembled the following:

> When was the last time you and your sexual partner practiced defenestration?
>
> When was the last time you sexually abused a mallard duck?

Two things at least are wrong with questions like this. If one has never practiced defenestration either alone or with a partner, what is the proper reply? (Obviously the word was not *defenestration*, but something equally recherché, likely to send the average sexual practitioner to the dictionary.) Moreover, there is no way such a questionnaire can possibly be answered by a celibate widow in her mid-fifties. The set of questions betrayed a grossly unscientific attitude in those who fashioned them, for they automatically excluded a proportion of those who might care to answer, but found no provision for the sort of replies appropriate to their circumstances.

I refuse to be considered a nonperson for the sake of any survey. I refuse to accept the "scientific" findings of a survey that skews its sample, before the fact, by the ineptitude with

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which the questions are prepared. When I sent a protest to the editor of the journal pointing out the grave inadequacies of what was being offered as a valid attempt to make a scientific study, my letter was neither acknowledged or printed, though much of a later issue was devoted to "findings" and readers' comments.

In an atmosphere of public credulity about the significance and sweep of a sexual revolution like this, was not Cameron's moral condemnation, veiled in deft razor-sharp irony, the best sort of attack that could be made?

(DR.) ANNE C. GARRISON

Lefebvre and Rome

Bronx, N.Y.

To the Editors: I read with some astonishment your account of the confrontation between Paul VI and Monsignor Marcel Lefebvre ["Trouble in France," News & Views, Sept. 10]. You insist that the traditionalist bishop "was given no hearing in Rome." Further, you end the piece by comparing Paul VI to Hitler in the Pope's suspension of Mgr. Lefebvre. Having lived in France the past summer and followed closely the Lefebvre affair in the French media, I find such criticism of the Pope incredible.

Throughout the past two years, the Roman authorities have repeatedly corresponded and met with Lefebvre. In June 1974 a commission of three prominant prelates (Cardinals Garrone, Wright and Tabera) was appointed by the pope to examine Lefebvre's traditonalist seminary in Econe, Switzerland. The commission met personally with Lefebvre after the French bishop had published a profession of faith (November, 1974) in which he branded the work of Vatican II and Paul VI as heretical. After the bishop of Geneva withdrew canonical authorization from the seminary in May 1975, the Tribunal of the Apostolic Signature listened to Lefebvre's appeal, which was rejected in June 1975.

The confrontation between the Vatican and Monsignor Lefebvre erupted with the ordination of 12 priests at Econe at the end of June. In the preceding March, Cardinal Mellini had appealed to Lefebvre to desist from the illicit ordinations. In the same month, a former protégé of Lefebvre, Cardinal Thiandoum of Dakar, had personally begged Lefebvre to forgo the ordinations. On June 12, the Secretary of State's office once again wrote to Lefebvre, warning of the division caused by the impending ordinations. Another letter, on June 25, warned of the pain of suspension if the ordinations were executed despite the publicly expressed sentiments of the Pope. Cardinal Thiandoum was again dispatched to speak with Lefebvre on June 28.

After the ordinations, the bishop automatically incurred suspension, i.e., he was banned from exercising his priestly ministries. He quickly broke the ban, most notably in a traditionalist Mass at Lille on August 30. During this time, the Vatican expressed its willingness to receive Lefebvre, though the bishop spoke of certain "conditions" for speaking with the authorities. The French bishops expressed a similar eagerness to meet with the illicitly ordained priests.

I myself am puzzled by the intransigence of the Vatican regarding those who prefer the Tridentine Mass. Lifting the ban on the celebration of the former rite would serve a genuine pastoral need. Nonetheless, the issue here is not the "old Mass." Msgr. Lefebvre has denounced Vatican II and the work of Paul VI as heretical. He has argued there is no continuity between the "Catholic" Church and the conciliar Church. He has denounced the Mass and sacramental reforms of Paul VI as "bastard" before French television. He has repeatedly humiliated the Pope and rejected the Council. The Vatican's suspension of Lefebvre may have been severe. It was not capricious or tyrannical. To compare Paul VI to Hitler in this affair is shoddy and ignorant.

(REV.) JOHN J. CONLEY, S.J.

NOTE: The comparison of the Pope's "methods" to Hitler's was drawn not by me but rather, as the News & Views item stated, by a French prelate, whom I had left unnamed. This was Msgr. Francois Ducaud Bourget. I was merely reporting the fact of his comment.

Also, the fact remains that Archbishop Lefebvre three times asked to see the Pope, and was unsuccessful in securing an audience. Since the writing of the News & Views item, however, a meeting did take place at Castelgandolfo, on Sept. 11. Archbishop Lefebvre described it as "an opening up of dialogue," adding that "many issues remain unresolved." —JOHN DEEDY

'New Ethnicity'

Washington, D.C.

To the Editor: Richard Krickus' article "Persecution in Lithuania" [July 16] deserves a wide hearing for three significant reasons: first, because of the attention he calls to the persecution of Catholic militants in Lithuania; second, because he disassociates that cause from the traditional manipulation of ethnicity by right wing anti-Communism; and third, because he raises a profound theoretical issue about the "tenacity of ethnicity" before the universalizing tendency of the Western humanist tradition, including its marx-

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ian strain. In this space I would like to speak some about the second reason.

Today all but the most closed-minded on the Left are beginning to face the serious repression of basic human rights, including religious rights, in certain sectors of the Eastern European societies. A decade ago the Cold War psychology supported a siege mentality, quite like that of pre-Vatican II Catholicism. One did not wash dirty linen in public. Today, however, especially with the growing "national" independence of the Spanish, Italian and, most recently, French Communist Parties (as well as the Japanese), more creative criticism is possible. Such critical openness from the Communist Left will, it seems, further strengthen the socialist movement in liberal societies.

The separation of defending human rights from right wing anti-Communism in turn opens us to the great complexity of church-state relations in Eastern Europe. An important contribution to this area has recently been made by IDOC's dossiers on *Church Within Socialism: Church and State in Eastern European Socialist Republics* (ed. Erich Weingärten, Rome: 1976), based on the studies of the Italian legal scholar Giovanni Barberini.

It is especially interesting that one of the new streams of protest is coming from a young socialist Left and from Christians who have undertaken a critical appropriation of marxism. It is not surprising, however, that many sectors within Eastern European state power (and also certain sectors of the church) are suspicious of this Eastern European equivalent of "Christians for Socialism," just like their counterparts in the West. The creation of independent centers of social creativity fertilizing the religious tradition and critiquing the present political experience is of course threatening to bureaucratized leadership, both East and West.

Would you please ask Richard Krickus to tell us how people can follow the issue of religious freedom in Lithuania and perhaps support it according to our modest means? You might also ask him to develop further his thoughts on the philosophical weakness of unrooted universalism in the Western tradition. On this point, it is my own belief that the young Left in the West has a great deal to learn from the "new ethnicity." JOE HOLLAND
Center of Concern

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Steinfels (Cont.)

after repeated failure to find work. They do not reflect the extent of underemployment, counting a person as employed even though he or she found only part-time work. Now the opposite argument is being heard. Unemployment statistics include numerous women who have entered the job market in recent years, or young persons who are more picky about the jobs they will take, or people who would have gone back to work except for the longer periods of unemployment compensation now available. Because these people are second bread-winners in a family, or supported by unemployment compensation, or able to stay out of work longer, the dimensions of the problem are supposedly not as great as they seem.

Sometimes the problem is redefined away with these arguments, or sometimes it is simply redefined to fit economic theory—as when "full employment" is declared to be whatever level of unemployment is achievable under present economic structures without undue inflation. That figure used to be around 4 percent—indeed a recent article referred to the "golden age" of 4 percent unemployment in the 1950s! Starting with Herbert Stein and other Nixon advisors, economists have been urging that a higher figure of unemployment be tolerated as the equivalent of "full employment."

Planning and the public sector. Effective full employment will require a degree of national economic planning and a willingness to create a considerable number of jobs in the public sector. Both planning and the public sector are under sharp attack from advocates of the marketplace. They are equally the object of the average citizen's suspicions. The attack and the suspicion mix ideological shibboleths with some telling criticism of government bureaucracy.

Supporters of full employment don't find objections like these conclusive. They point to the lower rates of unemployment in almost every other industrial nation. For a long time Japan kept joblessness under 1 percent. In Sweden a 2-percent unemployment rate would be a national crisis. France or West Germany will tolerate only a little more. As for the Phillips curve, "Nixonomics" revealed that one could escape its iron grip, at least to the extent of increasing inflation and unemployment at the same time! Post-Keynesian economists argue that inflation and unemployment can also be decreased simultaneously. But these are only hints of arguments which full-employment advocates must spell out in detail if the nation is going to confront its key problem.

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